Serfojee Rajah. 1827

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND CONSEQUENCES,

OF THE LATE

DISCONTENTS OF THE ARMY

ON THE

Madras Establishment.

Who can be wise, amaz'd, temp'rate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment ?.....................MACBETH.

London:

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IN THE STRAND.

1810.

TO THE

HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED;

IN THE HOPE

THAT THE TRUTHS AND OBSERVATIONS

CONTAINED IN THEM

MAY AWAKEN THEIR ATTENTION

TO THE ALARMING STATE OF THEIR INTERESTS IN

INDIA,

AND INDUCE A POLICY APPLICABLE TO THE

CRISIS OF THEIR AFFAIRS.

AN

ACCOUNT, &c.

THE whole of the knowledge, which the public at present possesses, of the late unhappy occurrences on the coast of Coromandel, is derived from a few detached documents, that have been occasionally submitted through the medium of the ordinary newspapers. Some official accounts, in respect to the events themselves, and the causes which produced them, might have been expected from the Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company, or the Commissioners of the Board of Controul, if it had not been generally known, that authentic information, even on the most important subjects, very rarely finds its way to this country until public interest has abated, or has devised for itself other means of satisfaction. The circumstance is notorious; the causes of it might be easily developed, if it were our business to investigate them; but we shall content ourselves, at the present, with barely noticing the fact

It may be supposed, without any affectation of charity, that the constituted authorities, immediately named, have not yet received any details from India, explanatory of recent transactions. A contrary supposition would involve them in the censure of reserving communications to themselves, which, if disclosed, might remove the anxiety so universally felt at this moment, directly or relatively, in the bosom of every family in the United Kingdoms.

In the absence of official accounts, such private information as may be procured, so that it bear the mark of truth or probability about it, and communicate particulars hitherto unknown, cannot be unacceptable to those who take an interest in the prosperity of our Indian affairs. It has been our endeavour to select from every accessible source, and to arrange in a connected form, the substance of the intelligence received by respectable individuals, having relation to the objects under our observation. Whether we have succeeded in our search after materials, or have made a proper use of them, when obtained, must depend on the impression made on the reader by the perusal of the ensuing pages.

LETTER I.

Madras, 15*th June*, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

THE great discontents which have prevailed in every class of the community under the Madras Government, during the last twelve months, have, doubtless, produced numerous complaints from individuals in the various departments of society, and these complaints, passing through the several channels, formed by curiosity or private friendship, will necessarily awaken the attention of, and excite considerable interest among, that part of the community, who are connected, either by political, or personal relations, with the individuals immediately concerned. A detailed narrative of the whole events would therefore be, to many, highly interesting.

When a community are obedient, respectful, and happy, it may be presumed that ability, experience, and virtue, form a part of the characters of those who rule; but if distrust and dissatisfaction prevail; if dissensions appear in every branch of the community; and that the body of Society

is unanimous only in the want of respect to those exercising the administration, it will be, by some, imagined that such administration is weak, ill-advised, and corrupt. When such appearances exist, an investigation of the cause of them becomes interesting to every well-wisher of his country; and it is therefore desirable, that some of those, who have witnessed the whole scene, should exhibit a faithful account of the transactions to the public; in order that posterity may benefit by the information; and that the advisers, the instigators, and the actors, in those transactions, may obtain a due reward of praise, if the measures be justifiable, or of blame, if they shall be found to be in direct violation of every duty to their God, and to their Country.

Leaving to other hands the history of the persecution of the Madras civil servants, and of the *bona fide* creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic, together with the details of the interference with the proceedings in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and the secret mission of a civil servant, to collect evidence; these notes shall be confined to those occurrences, which have borne directly upon the feelings of the military branch of the service, and

have produced an agitation in the minds of officers, which cannot be contemplated without the most serious alarm. In order to convey an adequate idea of the measures which have progressively led to the present melancholy crisis, it will be necessary to review the subject from a period anterior to the departure of Lieutenant-general Macdowall from Madras.

About March, 1808, Sir G. H. Barlow, Governor of Madras, formed the intention of abolishing the allowance for camp-equipage, which had heretofore been supplied on contract by officers commanding native corps. In the adoption of this measure, the opinion of General Macdowall, the Commander in Chief, was not consulted; but as he was directed by Government to have the necessary orders prepared, Lieut. Colonel Capper, the Adjutant General, in this way, became acquainted with the circumstance. This officer had various opportunities of being acquainted with the general feeling of the army, and he considered it to be important, that a measure, which would materially affect the respectability of a large portion of the officers, should be introduced under circumstances as little odious

as possible. With these sentiments, and with the sanction of the Commander in Chief, he waited on Sir G. Barlow, told him that the proposed measure could not fail to be highly disagreeable, and as the officers had recently suffered many serious privations, he urged the expediency of modifying the system in any way that might accomplish the views of economy entertained by the Government, and at the same time might avoid doing violence to the feelings of the officers. Sir G. Barlow said, that economy was his only object, and that if equal saving could be produced in any other way, he did not see any objection against its adoption. He gave to Colonel Capper the plan as proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Munro, with instructions to return it with his remarks, in a few days. Colonel Capper accordingly delivered in to Sir George Barlow his remarks, with the original plan, in four days: but orders had already been issued, directing that the regulations should be framed. The remarks, given in by Colonel Capper, stated generally, that the plan of Lieutenant Colonel Munro had not been submitted to the Military Board, or to any of the staff officers of experience, who

might be able to correct any errors that might have crept into the production of an individual. They also noticed, that Lieutenant Colonel Munro had insinuated a charge of the most serious nature against the officers who had commanded Native battallions; for Lieutenant Colonel Munro's plan contains a passage, purporting, that the experience of six years, and an observation of the practical effects of the contract system, suggested the observation, that the contract induced the officers commanding corps to keep back the discipline of their men, in order that they might not be fit for field service; and that the contract might therefore be more advantageous. The remarks of Lieutenant Colonel Capper further suggested the outline of a plan of reduction, which promised an annual saving of above 1,50,000 pagodas. However, Sir G. Barlow took no notice of the remarks, and the regulations, abolishing the contract, were published.

In the course of communication among the officers this subject became one of primary importance, as materially affecting the relative situations of officers commanding corps, and deeply involving the general

respectability of the service. All the distinctions, which separated the commandant from the subordinate officer, had nearly been removed, and the convulsion among the Natives, in 1806, which was marked by the catastrophe of Vellore, seemed to require that the situation of the European commandant should be maintained rather more distinctly than before. The loss of that consequence, which attached to the supply of camp equipage, was therefore considered in itself to be degrading, and the discussion of the subject produced several circumstances, that tended to throw an additional degree of odium upon the mode that had been adopted for the abolition of the contract. Among those the following were the most prominent.

First. That Lieutenant Colonel Munro, an officer of shorter service, and less experience, than any who had been on the general staff of the Madras army for several years, had procured the Commander in Chief to recommend to Government a plan respecting the chief object of the equipment of troops in the field; which plan was not submitted to the Military Board, by whom all subjects of that description

were, according to the orders of the Court of Directors, and the usage of the service, to be discussed and maturely digested, previous to their coming before Government. This plan was proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Munro, the youngest staff officer, and approved by a Commander in Chief, who had never seen the tents of a corps pitched in India for any other purpose than that of muster; and who, consequently, could not form any judgment of his own.

Secondly. That this plan, thus surreptitiously forwarded, contained an insinuation against the commanding officers of corps in the service, to which Lieutenant Colonel Munro belonged; implying, that the conduct of some, or all, who had held the contract during the six years, gave cause for the observation, that they were capable of keeping back the discipline of their men, in order to derive a pecuniary benefit. The most attentive consideration of the subject did not produce any argument to prove, that the insinuation was by any means necessary to produce the conclusion which the plan proposed; or that the inference intended to be drawn, would be the less direct (as suggested by the Judge

Advocate General) if a compliment instead of an accusation had been conveyed. The argument would have been equally strong, if it had been stated, (as is the case) that, although the experience of six years of the practical effects of the contract afforded a flattering exception, still the general principles that controul human actions, render it true in abstract, that, "By granting the " allowance in peace and war, for the equip- " ment of native corps, while the expen- " ses, incidental to that charge, are una- " voidably much greater in war than in " peace, it places the interest and duty of " officers, commanding native corps, in " direct opposition to one another. It " makes it their interest, &c." But this maxim is brought in as an inference, not from general principles, but from an attentive observation of the practical effects of the system of contract, and is expressly stated to be one of those discoveries which gave Lieutenant Colonel Munro means of forming a better judgment on the subject, than could be formed in the year 1801-2 by General Stewart or Colonel Agnew. The insinuation does not appear to have crept in through inadvertence; it is deliberately

introduced into the body of a memoir, the composition of which is manifestly studied, and the clandestine manner in which it was transmitted to the higher authorities (never having been laid before the members of the Military Board, and it having been purposely omitted from the records of the office of the Commander in Chief's Secretary) seemed to corroborate the opinion, that the obvious meaning of the insinuation was apparent to its author.

Shortly after the promulgation of the order, abolishing the tent contract, Lieutenant General Macdowall received letters, from almost all the officers commanding native corps, representing in terms, adapted to the feelings of each, the stigma which was considered to attach to them individually, seeing that the contract had been abolished for reasons, as set forth in the plan of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and appealing to the personal experience of the Commander in Chief, and to his authority, for redress against a charge of so serious a nature. To these letters, Lieutenant General Macdowall returned replies, purporting, that the discussion of the subject had taken place before he came to the command—that

the orders on the subject had been prepared without his previous opinion respecting them, and that, as the matter was so far advanced, he deemed it inexpedient to agitate it.

This occurred about July or August, and it was then expected that Lieutenant Colonel Munro, if he did not wish the stigma to remain against the officers of the army, would have addressed the Government, or the Commander in Chief, disavowing the intention imputed to his words, and desiring that such disavowal might be published for the satisfaction of those who felt injured. But, on the contrary, no such public disavowal has ever been made, nor was explanation of any kind given, until after charges had been forwarded against Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and after a sense of mutual danger had united in the same interest, not only those who signed the charges, but all who disapproved of Lieutenant Colonel Munro's conduct. His usurpation of the duties of every department had occasioned much complaint, and as the Government gave unqualified support to him, and communicated only with him, the army gradually confederated together.

The officers commanding corps, finding that no steps were taken to remove the obnoxious insinuations, and considering, that while they remained, an indelible disgrace was cast upon their characters, prepared charges against Lieutenant Colonel Munro, hoping, by a public investigation of the merits of the case, to establish a complete refutation of the stigma cast on them. These charges were forwarded to General Macdowall, with a letter; the charges having been previously signed by a large proportion of officers commanding corps, and the letter by three; viz. Lieutenant Colonels Sentleger, Rumley, and Martin.

The charges were referred to the Judge Advocate General,* who stated objections against the manner and matter of the charges. These objections were, by order of the Commander in Chief, communicated to the officers who had sent in the charges.

This opinion of Lieutenant Colonel Leith having been circulated with much industry all over India, it may be proper to examine it. The following remarks will shew, that his assumed principle is perfectly

* Lieutenant Colonel Leith.

erroneous, and consequently that his whole argument, both as it regards the law of libel and the impunity of official persons, falls to the ground. The Judge Advocate General states, " the following is under-" stood to be the offensive passage:—" Thirdly, by granting the same allowance " in peace and war, &c." And again he says, " It is to be considered in what capa-" city the words were spoken; they were " given as a general principle for establish-" ing certain laws for the government of a " community."

If these sentences, as quoted, were expressive of matter of fact,—in short, if they were true, the conclusion which Lieutenant Colonel Leith has drawn would be decisive of the question; but the fact is otherwise.

The offensive part of Lieutenant Colonel Munro's paper should be stated thus: " Six years experience of the practical " effects of the existing system of the " camp equipage equipment of the Native " army, has afforded means of forming a " judgment relative to its advantages and " efficiency, which were not possessed by " the persons who proposed its introduc-

" tion, and an attentive examination of its
" operation during that period of time, has
" suggested the following observations
" regarding it.

" First,—The existing system, &c.
" Secondly,—That system incurs an ex-
" pense, &c. Thirdly,—By granting the
" same allowance in peace and war for the
" equipment of Native corps, while the
" expenses, incidental to that charge, are
" unavoidably much greater in war than
" in peace; it places the interest and duty
" of officers, commanding Native corps, in
" direct opposition to one another: it
" makes it their interest that their corps
" should not be in a state of efficiency fit
" for field service; and, therefore, fur-
" nishes strong inducements to neglect their
" most important duties."

Now, notwithstanding the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, every man, capable of simple apprehension, must perceive, that the author of the paragraph above, correctly quoted, intended to express, that the subject of this third observation, as well as of the other observations, (six in number) was discovered by him through means that could not be in the possession of

the persons who proposed the introduction of the contract system in the year 1801-2. The observation is not introduced as a general maxim ; it is expressed as applicable to some practical illustration of the crimes specified, that had occurred within the six years to which the introduction alludes. And, indeed, one can hardly suppose, that the imagination of any individual would spontaneously suggest a crime so base, as that of an officer keeping back 1000 soldiers from doing the duty of his country, for the sake of a pecuniary advantage, which, under any system of corruption, could not be great. If Lieut.-Colonels Leith and Munro conceive the officers of the army to be capable of a crime, so heinous against their country, against the character of their profession, and against every principle of honor and honesty, it may be considered fortunate for those gentlemen, that their intercourse, with the officers of the army, is very limited. They must, while in their company, be under perpetual apprehension of meeting the comparatively trifling crime of theft.

This exposition must, in every reasonable mind, remove the impressions which Colonel Leith's opinion is of itself calcu-

lated to produce. For the palpable error, in the premises which he lays down, renders perfectly inapplicable to the present case all the very able and elaborate argument which he has introduced. This error is considered to be purely unintentional; for, although Colonel Leith got an addition to his income of 350 pagodas per month, about this period, it never has, nor can it ever be insinuated, that he had any view towards such a reward, while discharging a duty, for which he already received a liberal monthly salary. To impute to every man every crime that it is possible for him to commit, may, in Colonel Leith's opinion, be a good general principle; but the public must become better versed in the law, than they are at present, before they cease to consider it as a most diabolical one.

The subject of the charges against Lieutenant Colonel Munro, at this period, excited an uncommon degree of interest among the officers of the establishment. The Commander in Chief declared his opinion, that a court martial appeared to him to be the best mode of bringing it to issue, and even recommended to Lieutenant Colonel Munro, that he should not avoid it;

particularly as the officers of H. M. service, the engineers, and the artillery, who were all free from any personal interest in the contract, were sufficiently numerous for the purpose. However, Lieutenant Colonel Munro did avoid a court martial; and it was generally believed, that he did so under a perfect assurance, that, upon the departure of General Macdowall for Europe, the Government would, in a most decided manner, evince their marked displeasure against all who had adopted the unfavourable impressions that prevailed respecting Lieutenant Colonel Munro. That number was evidently very extensive, for the Quarter Master General was now universally shunned. It also was generally believed, that the Judge Advocate General had recommended an immediate attack on Lieutenant Colonels Sentleger, Martin, and Rumley, and had offered to guarantee their dismissal from the service, if they were brought to trial upon charges that he would prefer, and if he were to conduct the trial. These reports did not appear as the vague productions of idlers: they were circulated by those who wished to intimidate the officers, that had sent in the charges; and, though subsequent

transactions authorize the belief, that there was foundation for them, whether correct, or not, they produced the effect of uniting in one interest all who imputed blame to Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and this description comprised the whole army, with very few exceptions. The union was every day strengthened by a variety of circumstances. The conduct of government towards the Commander in Chief hurt the feelings of all military men, already in a state of irritation from a sense of mutual danger. Prudence and self-preservation oblige even the most moderate men to make common cause, when they have reason to apprehend persecution. The heads of all the departments, except the Quarter Master General's, became cyphers, and the military patronage was thrown into a channel, through which few could hope to benefit, unless at the expense of every feeling of pride and of honor.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin, who had, a few months before, procured permission to proceed to Europe, came to Madras in December. No particular notice was taken of him by the Government, and he accordingly took his passage on board the ship Lady Jane Dundas, with the intention

of embarking on the 29th of January, as the ship was expected to sail on that day. But in the night, between the 28th and 29th of January, he received a letter from the Secretary of Government, withdrawing his leave, and prohibiting him from embarking. For this extraordinary measure no reason was assigned; neither did Colonel Martin, or his friends, suppose that any existed, except the fulfilment of the report that had formerly been circulated, namely, that the absence of General Macdowall, who was to sail on the 29th of January, would now leave Colonel Martin, &c. at the disposal of the Judge Advocate General, and that Colonel Martin was detained to become the first victim to the general cause. This opinion seems to be fully justified by circumstances; but be that as it may, it was circulated through the army with astonishing rapidity, and produced a very strong sensation, as the danger, which awaited Colonel Martin, was, before he came to the Presidency, considered to be common to all, and his detention was viewed as the signal for commencing the punishment of those, who had presumed to differ from Colonel Munro. The line

was already completely drawn. Colonel Munro, supported by the Judge Advocate General and the government on one side, resolved to overcome the odium that attached to the character of an individual, and to enforce their resolution by the exemplary punishment of those officers, who, from public motives, had stood forward to check, by constitutional means, what to all appeared to be a great arrogance and presumption. On the other side, the whole of the army, with few exceptions, determined to give every support in their power to those officers, which the circumstances of their situation would admit of. The nearer approach of danger operated to strengthen those bonds of union that had been formed throughout the army; and from a report, which at this time obtained general currency, and belief, namely, that Colonel Munro's party had expressed their confidence of being able to follow up the most rigorous measures towards the officers of the Company's army, in consequence of a jealousy which had for some time been *judiciously* promoted between them and the officers of H. M. service. No incident, during the unhappy ferment, had occasioned more irritation than

this. The abominable principle produced an abhorrence towards its supposed authors, that was hardly restrained by the imperious sense of public duty.

The accounts of Colonel Martin's detention, and the two orders of General Macdowall, dated the 25th and 28th January,* reached the out-stations of the army at the same time, and were received with a degree of solicitude, commensurate to the warmth of the feelings that had already been excited. It was known to every part of the army, that General Macdowall had experienced the mortification of receiving almost daily insults to his character, as Commander in Chief, and representative of the principal military authority.† Instances occurred of troops marching, under orders issued by Government, in communication with the Quarter Master General, without the knowledge of the Commander in Chief, until the monthly returns, or some accidental circumstances gave him notice of the movements. On one occasion, a party of troops were embarked at Madras for foreign service, and the Commander in Chief was kept in such perfect ignorance of the object, and intention of this measure, that the first inti-

* Appendix B and C. † Appendix E.

mation he received of it was from a visitor, who casually mentioned, that he had in the morning seen the troops embark. This fact is stronger than a volume of metaphysical arguments, which may be set up in excuse for it. It was also generally known, that in the month of December a large force was collected, and ordered to march to the frontiers of Travancore, without any intimation of the circumstance being communicated, either privately or officially, to the Commander in Chief, or to the Adjutant General. This occasion was used, as an opportunity, or so deemed and understood, to fulfil the threat, that had been held out against the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger, one of the three officers who had signed the letter, accompanying the charges against Lieutenant Colonel Munro. Colonel Sentleger was directed to remain at Trichinopoly with the strength of one troop, (including the sick) and the remainder of his regiment (6th cavalry) was detached along with the other troops from the Southern division ordered to Travancore: the whole placed under the command of an officer, junior to the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger, who, in consequence, remonstrated

against the very great injustice done to his character, and applied for a court martial. On learning this, the Government appointed Colonel Sentleger to command the force; thus anticipating the subject of his application, which necessarily met with some delay by going through the Commander in Chief. Frequent references, from the various divisions of the army to head quarters, discovered also to the Commander in Chief and to the officers of the army, that Lieutenant Colonel Munro was in the habit of sending orders, in his own name, to the subordinate officers in the Quarter Master General's department, and requiring reports, &c. for the information of Government without any reference, or allusion, to the Commander in Chief, as the authority under which all military orders should be issued, or as the channel of communication between the Government and the army. This extraordinary proceeding induced General Macdowall to enter on an examination of the subject, for the purpose of ascertaining the relative situations of himself and his staff, with respect to the Government. He found recorded, in the Adjutant General's office, a letter from Earl Cornwallis, Governor

General and Commander in Chief in India, defining the relative situation of Adjutant General. From this letter, bearing date 1789, the following are extracts:

"I have, therefore, no difficulty in "giving a decision on the subject of your "reference, that general orders to the "whole of the troops employed under the "Presidency of Fort St. George, should "be distributed from one source only."

"The regular authority under which "all military orders should be issued, is "either that of the officer who may be "appointed Commander in Chief by the "Court of Directors, or that of the Go-"vernment itself, if circumstances should "render it expedient for the Board to "exercise avowedly the functions of that "officer."

"Before I conclude this letter, I must "express my wish that it should be recol-"lected by the civil and military depart-"ments at Madras, that the Adjutant "General of the Company's troops on "that Establishment, cannot, without the "greatest irregularity, (unless, as I have "already mentioned, the functions of the "Commander in Chief should be exercised

" by the Board) have any direct communication with the civil government."

In the year 1800, the Commander in Chief at Madras referred to this letter, in a communication which he made to the Adjutant General, and stated as follows:

" By the clear definition, by Marquis " Cornwallis, of the duty of Adjutant " General, he cannot be at liberty to act " officially, but under the immediate orders " of the officer commanding the army in " chief for the time being, who alone is the " instrument by which Government is to " govern and control the army; much less " can you be at liberty, as Adjutant General, to prepare, or communicate, to any " person, or publish to the army, or any " part of it, any orders, or regulations, for " the better government of the army, &c. " carrying into execution all such intentions " of Government as fall to be attended to, " or executed by officers or soldiers of the " army, which have not been previously " issued to you for such purpose, by the " officer commanding the army in chief."

General Macdowall, upon perusing these documents, and reflecting upon the knowledge he had of military affairs, applied

the reasoning therein expressed, as equally affecting the situation of Quarter Master General; he therefore inferred, that Lieutenant Colonel Munro's conduct was, in the highest degree, presumptuous and unwarrantable; but finding that every act of Colonel Munro was supported by the whole authority of the Government, and being desirous, if possible, to avoid any unpleasant crisis, at a period when he expected shortly to take leave of the army, he did not, at the time, resent the misconduct of one of his own staff. This forbearance, on the part of the Commander in Chief, did not prevent the officers of the army from feeling the insults offered to him; on the contrary, their indignation against the author of those insults was greatly increased.

The general orders by Government, dated 31st of January,* and the 1st of February, proclaiming the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, because they had complied with the orders of their Commander in Chief, developed the principles upon which the persons holding the supreme authority meant to act towards those who had disapproved of Lieutenant Colonel Munro's conduct; or, in other words,

* Appendix D.

towards the principal part of the officers of the Company's army. And, as General Macdowall was gone, the fate of Colonel Martin seemed to be decided; there being no longer any obstacle to the completion of Colonel Leith's supposed threat. Any injury to Colonel Martin must, under existing circumstances, be considered as an injury to every individual who had concurred in sentiment with him: and, as might be supposed, this common apprehension of danger produced a ferment, exceeding any thing that was ever before experienced among the various stations of the army. Indeed, it is rather a matter of surprise, that some act of open violence did not succeed. Few could contemplate the possibility of regular order subsisting, if the same men continued to rule, and the same measures to be pursued. The general orders of Government professed principles that appeared incompatible with the state of discipline that regulated the army. They not only denied the right of trial by their peers to two respectable officers, charged with military crimes, but held forth the protection against trial to another officer, who had been regularly

impeached; thereby interrupting the operation of the articles of war, and leaving the commissions of every officer in the Company's army at the disposal of the Judge Advocate General. How far the authors of an instrument, which thus set at defiance the laws of their country, may be actually criminal, will perhaps be a question for the decision of high authority. As a measure of emergency, its expedience, and its justification, must ultimately rest on the result of an impartial examination of the relative situations and conduct of the parties concerned.

The insinuations conveyed in Government Orders of 31st January,* against the character of General Macdowall, however serious they may be, do not affect the officers of the army; neither can they be supposed to have excited any other sentiment than astonishment, accompanied by the hope, that he may be able fully to justify himself, before his King and his Country. But the case of Major Boles, and of Colonel Capper, as stated in the G. O. 1st February, is far different. It may be applicable at some period to every officer in the army, who at all times is amenable to the penalties of

* Appendix D.

martial law, for disobedience of any military order, which is not *manifestly illegal,* and is now declared to be liable to the loss of his commission for obedience, if his immediate superior shall chance to be unpopular with power. The only compensation for which is an *ex-post-facto* opinion, that the order was illegal, in the judgment of Lieutenant Colonel Leith, who, as has been fully seen, can, with equal ease, support at the same time a proposition and its inverse, not only by sophistry and argument, but by authorities deduced from the laws of the Romans.

Lieutenant Colonel Leith has *proved* the legality, beyond all appeal, of Lieutenant Colonel Munro having, under orders from Sir John Cradock, falsely traduced the character of a considerable number of respectable officers in the service to which Lieutenant Colonel Munro belongs; although Sir J. Cradock was not exercising the function of command, at the time the circumstance came to the knowledge of those officers. And the same Colonel Leith has also *proved* the illegality of Colonel Capper, or Major Boles, having, under the orders of Lieutenant General Macdowall, signed

a reprimand to an individual officer, who had insulted his Commander in Chief, although Lieutenant General Macdowall was at that time exercising all the functions of command, and consequently, by the orders of Marquis Cornwallis, (as well as by the laws of the Romans, quoted by Colonel Leith) neither Colonel Capper, nor Major Boles, could appeal, nor hold any communication with the Civil Government, except through the Commander in Chief; certainly such an undertaking on the part of Colonel Leith merits high reward from those whose purpose it is calculated to answer, but its effect on the officers of the army is deplorable. It effectually annihilates the idea of right or claim to the possession of a commission, and destroys the foundation of equity and justice, upon which military discipline and subordination depend.

The offences, with which Colonel Capper and Major Boles are charged, being expressed in definite terms, every reasonable man can form a judgment respecting them. A passage of the Judge Advocate's opinion on the charges against Colonel Munro, tends strongly to corroborate the

sentiments of Earl Cornwallis, respecting the duty of the general staff of a Commander in Chief; and as Colonel Leith justly observes, " It is to be considered in " what capacity the words were spoken; " they were given as a general principle, " &c." The following are Colonel Leith's words: " The great principle of military " law, as handed down from the most " ancient times, is, *let there be no appeal* " *in military cases; let the order of the Gene-* " *ral, who commanded, be taken for just,* " *and ratified.* Such was the rule of the " Romans, who best understood military " discipline, and this principle we see " adopted in courts of common law." Every person, acquainted with the English language, must, upon reading this quotation, form the same opinion of its meaning. There is no equivoque, no abstract reasoning; the order of the General, who commands, is final, and not liable to appeal by any to whom the execution may be entrusted.—Therefore, the sole responsibility rests with the General, in the Judge Advocate General's able opinion. This principle is applied in justification of Lieutenant Colonel Munro; and an inference is drawn,

purporting, that the order of Sir John Cradock to prepare a certain report, relieves the person, to whom the order was given, from all responsibility with regard to the matter that may be contained in the report. However inconsistent this may be with justice, it may be presumed that, coming from Colonel Leith, it is good law; and as the principle upon which it is founded is general, and therefore applicable to other cases, similar in their nature and relations to Colonel Munro's, it will serve as a rule by which to examine the conduct of Major Boles and Colonel Capper. Those officers received from Lieutenant General Macdowall, the Commander in Chief, a general order in his own hand writing, accompanied by a letter, directing that the said general order might be circulated in the usual manner, with as little delay as possible, and assigning the prospect of his early departure as his motive for wishing that expedition should be used. This letter, also, was written and signed by the Commander in Chief. The order of the General who commanded, being, according to Colonel Leith, "just and ratified," "and without appeal," Colonel Capper and Major Boles, *a fortiori*, were

relieved from all responsibility with regard to the matter that was contained in the order; or, supposing that Major Boles and Colonel Capper had refused a compliance with an order of the Commander in Chief, thus peremptory in its nature, that they had been placed under arrest, and brought to trial for such disobedience, Colonel Leith, being the Judge Advocate, can there be any doubt that in such a case, the Judge Advocate would, by the application of the Justinian Code, the articles of war, and the orders of Marquis Cornwallis, have attached to those officers the guilt of one of the highest crimes an officer can be accused of? and that their punishment would have been, perhaps, more severe than that which, at a former stage of this unhappy dissension, was intended for Colonels Sentleger, Martin, and Rumley? Assuredly not.

Yet has Colonel Leith, Judge Advocate General, given a professional opinion (*ex-post-facto*) purporting, that the compliance of Major Boles and Colonel Capper, with the peremptory orders of General Macdowall, was illegal, although General Macdowall was at the time present, and actually exercising all the functions of Commander in

Chief. If this be law, it is probable that the Romans did not practice such, at the period that they decreed, "*Let there be no* "*appeal in military cases; let the order* "*of the General, who commanded, be taken* "*for just, and ratified.*" It is more likely to have been their practice when they were hurrying rapidly down the stream of corruption. "*Facilis descensus averni.*" To the plain reason of military men the inconsistency appears great.

The violent agitation, that prevailed throughout the army, on perceiving, by the Government orders of the 31st January, and 1st February, that Commissions were held merely at the caprice of an individual, could not escape the notice of Government. Every principle, which cherishes the honorable feelings of an officer, was violated. The impossibility of conducting the ordinary duties of the military profession, without the regular advice of counsel, was proclaimed; consequently, the rigid controul, which should pervade the progressive ranks in the army, was declared to be at an end. And on what account is all this convulsion produced? Merely for the purpose of extinguishing, by force, the just indignation,

which an army of officers felt towards an individual; who had wantonly insulted their pride, and injured their feelings: and who had, during several years, exercised great talents, in order to promote dissension between the civil and military departments of the Government; having conducted an animated and continued contest against the Government, during the commands of Generals Stewart and Cradock, for the purpose of extending the prerogatives and patronage of the military commander; and on the succession of Lieutenant General Macdowall to the command, having with admirable address altered the course of his conduct, and denied the right of giving orders to his staff, or being acquainted with the movement of troops to General Macdowall, who had witnessed the effects of the unlimited influence of an individual over his, predecessors, and had therefore *imprudently* resolved to preserve his independence from that influence.

The patience and submissiveness of the officers of the Madras army has ever been proverbial; but there is a limit, beyond which ill usage and injury cannot be borne. When every right is invaded, and every

privilege is denied, an insensibility of wrong only serves to prove, that the oppressed are unworthy to possess either rights or privileges. It cannot, therefore, be surprizing that among men of liberal sentiments, possessed of feelings highly honorable, indignation and resentment should be awakened by the cruel and unjustifiable punishment of Col. Capper and Major Boles, as announced in the Government orders of the 31st January, and 1st February, by a review of the events which had progressively led to those orders, and by the prospect of a relentless persecution, the conductors of which were not to be satiated, while one obnoxious victim remained to be immolated. The detention of Colonel Martin shewed that he was marked for their vengeance in the first instance; however, the unequivocal indications of the general feeling on the subject, rendered it extremely probable, that any violent or arbitrary proceedings towards him would drive matters to the last extremity. The Government were, therefore, induced to suspend the proposed measures against him, and, accordingly, directed that Lieutenant Colonel Martin should be reimbursed in the sum of star

pagodas 1,000, for passage money, &c. and that he should be permitted to proceed to England by the first opportunity.

Unhappily, however, it was soon perceived, that the measure of conciliation, which apparently proceeded from a sense of justice, was not the effect of a disposition to tranquillize the ferment that existed, but of a reluctant compliance with necessity. It was accordingly succeeded by rigid proceedings, from which there does not at present appear to be any immediate prospect of relief; the supreme authority in India having given sanction to them. That this sanction has been obtained through misrepresentation, and misstatement, is evident from a passage in the letter of the supreme Government, which was circulated on the coast. That passage states, that the officers, who signed the charges against Lieutenant Colonel Munro, had consented to their being withdrawn, than which nothing can be more unfounded. On the contrary, a letter from one of those officers, appealing to the articles of war, against the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, was one of the immediate causes of the arrest of Lieu-

tenant Colonel Munro, on the 21st of January.

The removal of several officers from their situations at Madras, for which removal no other reason can be assigned, than their objection to hold any unofficial intercourse with Lieutenant Colonel Munro—the removal of battalions from Madras for reasons of the same description—the means by which Sir John Sinclair procured the situation of Commissary at the Arsenal—and various other occurrences which have marked the unhappy interval between the beginning of February and the present eventful period—will form subjects for future communications. This one shall be concluded with an earnest prayer, that a consciousness of their own right, and a firm reliance on the justice and equity of their superiors in England, may enable the officers of the Coast army to bear with fortitude the trial, to which they are exposed, only for a time. Let them reflect, that they have a character already high, and worth preserving by any temporary sacrifice of their personal feelings; and that whatever may be the extent of their just indignation against the individuals, who are the imme-

diate instruments of their oppression, duty to their country requires that it should, for the time, be restrained within those limits, beyond which is nothing but crime, anarchy, and confusion.

ADIEU!

LETTER II.

Madras, 20th June, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

As the narrative addressed to you is intended to convey a simple and correct view of the whole of the circumstances which have conduced to bring the public affairs of this Government to the critical predicament that they are now in, it will be proper, not only that the various events should be detailed in the order in which they occurred, but that the connection between them should be distinctly shewn, as well as the effect which they produced on the public mind.

The transactions of any given period, during this unhappy dissension, cannot, with propriety, be considered, of themselves, to possess any particular character or feature. No correct judgment can be

formed respecting them, unless they be combined with the circumstances in which the parties concerned were placed; because from those circumstances alone were they produced, and to them alone were they applicable.

From what has been detailed, in the preceding letter, it will be perceived, that a considerable degree of animosity subsisted in the beginning of February. Lieutenant Colonel Munro either had (or was supposed to have) falsely traduced the characters of the officers commanding Native corps in the honourable Company's service; and, although his insinuations did not immediately affect the other officers, it was well known that an acute sense of injury was felt by almost every officer of every rank. Even supposing the relative situation of the army in the State to be very low, still the profession is deemed honourable, and officers are usually treated as gentlemen. It might, therefore, be reasonably supposed, that some consideration would be shewn towards the feelings of those who supposed themselves to be falsely calumniated; and, as Lieutenant Colonel Munro had not, during six months, disavowed the calumny, that Government would not have interrupted a public inves-

tigation of the subject, without, at the same time, giving some kind of explanation to satisfy the officers of the army, that the insinuation, conveyed in Lieutenant Colonel Munro's paper, was not considered to be applicable to them. No such explanation, however, was given; and the officers of the army naturally drew the conclusion, that no consideration of the claim on the justice of Government, which they considered themselves to possess equally with Colonel Munro, would be allowed to interfere with the full execution of the threat, "That "Government would, in the most decided "manner, evince their marked displeasure "against all, who had adopted the unfavour-"able impressions respecting Lieutenant "Colonel Munro." They saw this disposition manifest itself in the extraordinary, and unprecedented, order, which directed the Hon. Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger to remain at Trichinopoly, while his regiment was sent on service,—in the detention of Lieutenant Colonel Martin, only a few hours before the sailing of his ship,—and in the suspension of Major Boles and Colonel Capper,—they saw the complete removal of the only barrier which could protect them against the

vengeance of Lieutenant Colonel Munro. The possession of a commission became altogether nugatory, if it were liable to be annulled without enquiry, or investigation of any sort; and if the acts annulling it, could be justified by laws framed, (*ex-post-facto*) and by subtle arguments, or metaphysical disquisitions, which, however well they may be calculated for the display of the professional talents of a lawyer, cannot be considered as applicable to practical military law; which most of all requires to be simple and unembarrassed by obscure or ambiguous phraseology.

No man, educated in the military profession, and looking to its laws alone, as the standard by which his conduct and principles were to be regulated, could be capable of defending his honor, his life, or his commission, against the sophistry which has *proved*, to the satisfaction of the superior authorities in India, that Lieutenant Colonel Munro, as principal in his office, was not responsible for the matter contained in a paper, drawn up by himself; and which sophistry has, at the same time, proved, that Major Boles, a deputy in office, was responsible for the matter contained in a

paper drawn up by the Commander in Chief, and transmitted to Major Boles through his immediate principal.

Notwithstanding the pertinacity with which the culpability of Major Boles is maintained in all public edicts of the government, and of the present Commander in Chief of the army, there is much reason to suppose that the arguments of Lieutenant Colonel Leith, and of those who advised the extreme exercise of power in the case of Major Boles, have not produced that clear conviction which just reasoning usually does. It seems rather probable, that a consciousness of the flagrant injustice of a measure, which had been hastily adopted, through the influence of passion and prejudice, occasioned to its authors a species of remorse, which, although it did not dictate a magnanimous requital for the injury, would have assented to a sort of compromise. It would otherwise be difficult indeed to account for a very extraordinary interview, which took place on the 2d of February, at Major Boles's, between that gentleman and a member of the council, composing the government of Madras. The purport of which may be tolerably well

ascertained from notes, which, on the 3rd of February, passed between the former and a third person. From them it appears, that the writer expressed great concern for the distresses to which Major Boles and his family would be exposed by the loss of his commission; and lamented, that his utter ruin must follow the representations which the Madras Government would make to Europe, and that, having a great friendship for Major Boles, he was desirous to avert the evil, and would undertake to become a mediator with Sir G. Barlow, having reason to entertain sanguine hopes of being able to effect the restoration of Major Boles to the service, and to his official situation, if he would make an apology for having signed the order of the Commander in Chief; the member of council at the same time positively affirming, that his interference was entirely unknown to any member of the Government. Major Boles declined complying with the proposed terms, as Sir G. Barlow had, without any enquiry whatsoever, punished him for an act, any objection to which on his part would have merited *death* by the articles of war; he considered it to be impossible, as it would be useless, to

make any appeal to that authority. That, unless the Governor would allow him an opportunity of justifying himself, he could not possibly originate any appeal to him against an act of his own, and it must ever be impossible for him to offer an *apology* for compliance with a peremptory order of the Commander in Chief. Such an act would be a direct violation of the articles of war, as established by law; and it would be derogatory to the character of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to whose equity and justice he confidently looked for relief, against the distresses which his suspension had produced to him, already in debt, and having a family to support.

It may be proper here to mention another manifestation of that species of remorse, which has been mentioned above. On the 29th of January, not many hours after the leave of Lieutenant Colonel Martin had been withdrawn by Government, that officer was called upon by the Judge Advocate General, who told him that the Government were very much incensed at the hostile disposition, which many officers had manifested towards Lieutenant Colonel Munro, whom they were determined to support, and

to punish those who persisted in their opposition to him. That with this view Colonel Martin had been detained, and he might expect to feel the effects of their high displeasure, unless he would apologize for having signed and forwarded the charges, and merely say that he was sorry for the part he had taken in the affair. In which case the Judge Advocate General promised him, that the proceedings against him should be quashed, and he should immediately have leave to proceed on the ships which were expected to sail that night. This proposal, as may be supposed, was received by Lieutenant Colonel Martin with scorn and contempt; conscious that no improper action or motive could be imputed to him, he despised the malice, and defied the perversion, and abuse of power, of which he knew the advisers of the Government to be capable, confiding in the equity of trial, and the justice of the laws of his profession and his country. The presence of General M'Dowal and other causes had hitherto imposed considerable restraint upon the disposition which existed, to bear down and utterly annihilate those grand protectors of the rights of every British soldier and subject.

Incidents, in themselves trifling, at this period acquired great importance, every where under the Madras Government, but particularly at the presidency. The total disregard to all claims, arising from considerations of equity or justice, and a cold, unfeeling perseverance in measures suggested by a set of men, who were guided only by their own interests, or by prejudice, produced, not only among the Military, but in every department of the community, a species of sullen discontent, and despair, which refused all, but the outward forms of respect to the person, or character of the governor; and so universal was this sentiment, that the unhappy state of society became a general topic. Men, whose pursuits and views in life were totally different, felt a mutual sympathy. The gentlemen in the civil service, and those not in the company's employ, felt their grievances to be without the hope of redress; as the system which oppressed them had, by violating the rights, and disregarding the laws of the Military profession, removed the barrier which at once restrains and protects that class of men, in whose hands the physical force of the state rests; and in whom therefore it is most

impolitic to drive into self-preserving unanimity, by affording just cause for complaint and discontent among them; and the Military, seeing that the determined system of the Government, while it annulled the laws of their profession, also deprived their fellow subjects of their civil rights, could no longer hesitate to become unanimous in execrating the injudicious policy from whence it arose.

The measures which excited alarm and discontent among the persons, who compose the general class of society, do not appear to have any immediate reference to the subject of these remarks, limited as they are to the Military question. But the merits of this cause rests not solely on matters of fact; they are chiefly to be deduced from opinion; it therefore becomes material to notice the extrinsic circumstances which gave an impulse to the imagination of Military men. Had the prevailing system given satisfaction to the other orders of society, it is probable the agitation among the Military would never have become so general, or so violent as it did at this time. The impression produced by the arbitrary exercise of power, however sensibly it might at first be felt,

might have subsided, and perhaps be forgotten; if, in the intercourse of society, any advocates had existed who could approve, or who even could palliate or defend, the measures adopted in any of the various branches of the administration. But, unhappily, this was not the case; an universal clamour prevailed; many were injured, all discontented, and the only class of men, not violent against the principles of the Government, were those who from poorness of spirit, or motives of self-interest, either suppressed their sentiments altogether, or used peculiar caution in communicating them. From such men have the principal offices been recently filled. Among many instances of this sort, one is particularly striking, and deserves to be remarked, from the example which it affords of the advantage to be derived from a perfect lubricity of principles. A person, now holding one of the highest situations under the Government, and who professes to be one of the warmest admirers of the present system, did, on the 26th Jan. last, then being at a distant station, give his sentiments, as they then stood, in the following words: speaking of some of the measures of Government, he says "the authors

" of this plan of degradation, and useless " expenditure of public money, have *not* " done the state a service;" and again " The " system is to degrade Military authority, " and to raise the emblem of a force, that " can bow to civil dictators. The troops " are now instruments of civil law; and the " Military rank goes no further, than the " Etat Major of a Council of Elders, or in " other words, old women." These being the words of a person, who was relatively an advocate for Government, and having been used on the 26th of January last, any attempt to prove that discontent was then partial, or confined only to a few at the Presidency, must appear equally futile and absurd. The whole service, Civil or Military, knew that it was universal; and that an apprehension of mutual danger, arising from the supposed determination of Government to crush all who would not acknowledge the supremacy of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, had produced an unanimity of sentiment throughout the Army, and a confederacy for the purpose of mutual preservation.

On the 6th of Feb. the Government of Madras issued a general order, professing to contain a statement of the circumstances

connected with the arrest and release of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and there can be no doubt, that a candid exposition of circumstances, even at this late period, might have been of use, by tending to do away the foundation of the odium that existed against Lieutenant Colonel Munro. The order in question could not however have that effect. For, instead of adverting to the real cause of complaint, it affects to misunderstand the particular passage in the report which had given offence, and states, that any enquiry regarding the offensive passage must have involved a discussion of the measures of the principal Civil and Military authorities in this country.

Such an inference is not deducible from any of the premises in the present case. It had already been explicitly declared, that the officers complaining were particularly desirous to avoid any allusion to the general question, regarding Camp-equipage. That any comparison between the former and the present systems of Camp Equipage was unnecessary and entirely irrelevant, in discussing the charges which were laid against Lieutenant Colonel Munro—The discussion of those charges could not, if the president of

the Court Martial knew his duty, extend to any matter that was not requisite in order to substantiate or refute one, or other of the following problems.

First.—Whether the insinuation against the officers commanding Native Corps, as quoted in the former letter, was warranted by their conduct during the period they held the contract.

If the affirmative of this question was proved, the discussion would be at an end, and the charges against Colonel Munro must be thrown out.

Second.—If the insinuation should appear totally groundless and false; whether the insertion of it in the Quarter Master General's paper was necessary, in order to place the subject in a clear point of view, or to produce the conclusion, which Lieutenant Colonel Munro might have been directed to draw forth.

If the affirmative of the second problem were proved, the court martial, or the Commander in Chief, might, with a view to the exculpation of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, deliberate whether he was not justifiable, or at least excusable, in uttering the falsehood, having for its object a compliance with the

order of the Commander in Chief, which, according to Colonel Leith, was to be considered "just and ratified, and without appeal." But if it should appear that the insinuation against the officers commanding native corps did not tend, in any way, to corroborate the arguments which have been used to recommend the abolition of the contract, and that therefore Lieutenant Colonel Munro had wantonly vilified the character of a body of respectable officers, for purposes which no man can avow, it is probable that the court martial, being composed of men, influenced by feelings of honourable pride, would have marked their sense of his conduct in the most decisive manner; and this could have been accomplished, without any allusion whatsoever to the general merits of the report, for which alone any responsibility can rest on the authorities who have severally approved the work. It would be, in the highest degree, absurd to suppose, that a superior authority, by approving a treatise, composed by an inferior, became responsible for the substance of any particular passage, although the purport of that passage were totally irrelevant to the main question, and although the total omission of the passage

would not have weakened the reasoning, or rendered the inference less direct. Yet such hypothesis is necessary, in order to reconcile the position laid down in the G. O. 6th Feb. namely, that an enquiry, respecting a *given passage* in Colonel Munro's report, would have extended to the measures of the authorities, who had approved the general tenor of the report, although this particular passage had not any relation or bearing towards the general result.

One passage in the order of Government deserves to be particularly noticed, from the illustration which it affords of the avowed principles of Government. The passage is as follows:—"In these circumstances, the "Quarter-master General could no longer be "considered responsible for proceedings so "sanctioned; and it would have been in-"consistent with the evident principles of "justice, that a public officer should have "been liable to the obloquy of a trial for an "act not his, but that of his superiors."—The doctrine is certainly praiseworthy; and every one must acknowledge great liberality in the principle, which attaches to the superiors all responsibility for the act of an inferior; but which becomes theirs by adoption

even, supposing the operation of the principle to be general, and equally applicable to all persons similarly situated. But if, on the contrary, the spirit and letter of this doctrine be directly violated in the case of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, and that those officers are punished without the *obloquy* of a court martial, as being responsible for the positive act of their superior, the sincerity of the authors of the above-mentioned order will appear doubtful, at least; and men of plain understanding will imagine that their principles, as illustrated by their conduct, do not appear so praiseworthy as they do when publicly proclaimed in orders.

The Order concludes with an injunction, that the question must now be considered as concluded, and the circumstances connected with it consigned to oblivion. It was not, however, possible that a subject, which had engaged the attention of all, and had excited general irritation throughout the army, could be obliterated by the dash of a pen; and in fact, the G. O. 6th Feb. served to add fuel to the flame already spread. For, without any explanation or discussion of the real causes of complaint, it attempts to identify, with the Government itself, the cause of an individual,

who was shunned by every officer who possessed pride or feeling for the character of his profession; while Colonels Capper and Martin, and Major Boles, officers of great repute, and universally respected, were punished, to the greatest extent that the Government could accomplish, for acts which are considered to be not only justifiable but praiseworthy.

On the 8th of February, the public were surprised by the annunciation of a resolution, passed in Council on that day, ordering the removal of Captain Marshall from the situations of Secretary to the Military Board and Secretary to the Military Fund; the removal of Mr. Roebuck from the situations of the Paymaster General and Mint Master; and Mr. R. A. Maitland from the situation of Justice of the Petty Court. The two former were directed to quit the Presidency, *without delay*, and proceed to Vizagapatam, which is about 500 miles distant. This circumstance, totally unexpected and unaccountable as it at first appeared to be, became more surprising, from the difficulty of forming even a conjecture respecting the cause which might reasonably be assigned for inflicting so severe a punishment, at once, on three

individuals, whose professions, pursuits, and situations were so different; one being a subordinate military officer, who had not hitherto been conspicuous in any way; another, one of the oldest Company's civil servants; and the third, a gentleman not in the service, but residing at Madras, under the protection of the Company; and his conduct had been uniformly such, as to gain him universal esteem in the Settlement, as well as constant attention and respect from the members of all preceding Governments.

A deliberate consideration of the various discussions, then pending at Madras, suggested the causes which had rendered these men obnoxious to the rulers of the day.—Captain Marshall, though in a subordinate situation, had frequent occasion to meet Colonel Munro on duty. However, no unofficial intercourse had, for a long period, taken place between those officers, owing to the incongruity of their dispositions, their principles, and their conduct. The subjects recently agitated at Madras had not tended, in any way, to reconcile the difference of sentiment that existed; and, in fact, Captain Marshall adopted the same principles which prevailed amongst the great majority of his

brother officers. It was therefore consistent with the principles upon which the Government appeared to act, that he, although bearing a good character, should be degraded from his office and removed from the presidency, in order to make way for a person who would probably speak to Colonel Munro. Previous to his departure, however, he made a modest appeal to Government, in which he stated as follows: "I trust, I shall be ex-
" cused for expressing a considerable degree of
" anxiety, at the displeasure of Government,
" as evinced in my removal from office,
" and that a jealousy respecting my cha-
" racter as a servant of the company, will
" be considered to proceed from motives,
" honorable to myself, and consistent with
" the relation in which I stand to my honor-
" able employers, after passing eighteen
" years in their service."

"The serious reduction of salary must
" necessarily produce considerable incon-
" venience to me; but the loss of salary
" is a secondary consideration; I never
" indulged the hope of attaining that exal-
" tation which riches give; I looked only
" for the humble honors of a respectable
" character, and I appeal to the justice of

" Government to excuse the earnestness
" with which I solicit to be informed, in
" what part of my conduct I have given
" cause for the severe measure, which, what-
" ever be the effect, is evidently calculated
" to deprive me of my good name, in the
" absence of which, no wealth could make
" me rich."

The appeal was however vain; it was treated with contemptuous silence; and no reason has even yet been assigned for the removal of Captain Marshall from Madras. This event, which, in ordinary times, would not be considered of any general moment, acquired, at this period, great importance, for it tended to confirm the general belief, that Government were resolved to pursue to the utmost, every individual who had become obnoxious to Colonel Munro, without regard to general character, length of service, or other qualification, which is usually considered to confer upon individuals a right to the protection of Government. Even the most moderate among the officers, and those who had been desirous to divert the attention of the public from the immediate causes of complaint, could no longer discover any chance of preserving the most

respectable part of the army from arbitrary prosecution and cruel punishment, while things continued to be administered according to a system, which was not to be controlled by the laws of the land, or by any appeal to the ordinary dictates of reason, equity, or justice. Of this disposition an ample illustration is thought to be afforded, in the orders respecting Messrs. Roebuck and Maitland. The whole particulars of this extraordinary transaction would of themselves form an interesting detail. They are, however, only partly connected with the present subject; and it will be sufficient to notice that these gentlemen were acknowledged creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic to a very large amount, and knowing that bonds had been forged to an enormous extent, and that the security of their property would be injured, in proportion as the forged bonds were admitted, they instituted, in the Supreme Court, at Madras, various suits against persons supposed to be concerned in forging sundry of these bonds. They had already obtained two verdicts from the several juries, and although the Advocate and Solicitor of the Company defended the persons who were con-

victed of forging and perjury, the *bonâ fide* creditors did nevertheless persist in appealing to the laws of their country for the preservation of their property. As no public reason was assigned for the act of their removal from office, the cause was imagined to arise, but erroneously perhaps, out of the part they took in these proceedings. This circumstance, it is true, has no immediate reference to the military question, but it will not be difficult for any to conceive that the punishment of two respectable men, under the prevalent impressions, could not be contemplated with indifference by Britons. It will not require any argument to prove, that such a circumstance was calculated to exasperate feelings already highly irritated, and that, connected as it was with the punishment of Captain Marshall, both having occurred in the same Council, and both reaching the public at the same time, the officers of the army should have perceived in it a further confirmation of the suspicion, that the common laws of the land could not afford any protection to those whom the advisers of the Government wished to overwhelm.

The foregoing facts have been intro-

duced merely for the purpose of shewing, that causes existed for universal disgust, though the advisers of Government have continually persisted to deceive the superior authorities, by representing, that the discontent was partial, and confined only to a few individuals. It may be proper to notice certain facts which afford conclusive evidence of the entire falsehood of such assertion.

On the 13th of February, Lieutenant Colonel Munro signified to the officers of the Institution, (an establishment lately formed for the instruction of young officers) that he heard they had expelled one of the members from their society, "because he had attended at an entertainment given at the Government House," and in such case desired that they would withdraw their proceedings against that gentleman; in failure of which they would be ordered to quit the Institution, and to join their corps. The gentlemen replied, that the regulations of the service, Para. 9th, allow "to officers, "in common with other gentlemen, the "privilege of making their own choice of "companions, for their private society," and as they felt averse to hold further

acquaintance with the gentleman in question, they conceived they were justified in the measures they had taken, in consequence of which they (18 officers) were sent to their corps by the following general orders:

"*Fort St. George*, 18*th*, *February*, 1809.

" G. O. by Government:

" The Commander in Chief " having brought under the attention of " the Honourable the Governor in Council, " the recent irregular conduct of the fol- " lowing officers of the junior class of the " Military Institution, the Governor in Coun- " cil directs that they do join their corps " without delay."

[Here follow the names of 18 officers.]

Although the name of the Commander in Chief appears in the foregoing order, it was in a few days discovered, that he had not even been made acquainted with the circumstances; at least so he declared, on the occasion of a reference that was made to him by some of the young men. Previous to the publication of the foregoing order, a communication was made to the gentlemen of the Institution, by a Field officer, purporting, that if they would pro-

mise to go to the next entertainment at the Government House, the proceedings against them would be discontinued; but, otherwise, that they might expect to be severely punished. They however declined complying with these terms. Trifling as this occurrence must appear, in the general view of the great events which this period teems with, it deserves particular notice on account of the consequences it produced, and the inferences which may be drawn from it. It affords incontestible proof, that the feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction towards the Government was not confined to a few. In such a case it is impossible to suppose, that out of nineteen young men, attached to a corps that is under the especial patronage of the Governor and the Quarter Master General, only one person would go to a public entertainment given at the Government House; or that the others, if the feeling was not general, should venture to mark their disapprobation in the decided manner they did. This transaction also serves to shew, that the appeal of the officers to the regulations of the service, as established by Earl Cornwallis, was totally disregarded, and that officers in the army were liable to

be punished, if they presumed to exercise their own judgment in the choice of associates, or private acquaintances.

It seems scarcely credible, that so preposterous a doctrine should have been publicly avowed and sanctioned by the Government; but the letters* which passed on the subject are still extant, and have, on many occasions, been produced, in order to overcome the incredulity of persons to whom the circumstances have been related, at almost every station of the army. For those young men, highly irritated as they must have been at the recent transactions which they had witnessed at Madras, and particularly at the treatment they had themselves received, were separated, and sent to the various corps to which they belonged, thus effectually disseminating (if they had not already been general) those opinions which are still said to have been confined to a few individuals.

It is a matter of great wonder, that the unequivocal proofs of discontent, which the occurrences of every day afforded, did not suggest to those who were the objects of it, the expediency either of removing the causes of it, by revising the unjust and

* Vide Appendix H.

unreasonable acts that had produced it, or even of endeavouring to prevent its increase by appearing to consult the feelings and the just rights of men, at least in those matters, where the right of choice cannot reasonably be denied. But, unfortunately, those who ruled, and those who advised, intoxicated by power, blinded by prejudice, and impelled by ambition, were not satisfied by the forms of respect and obedience which public duty required, and which never were denied. The indignation of the officers of the army appeared now to have reached such a height, that some desperate act of resentment was expected. The resignation of the Company's service was in contemplation among large bodies of officers; but this measure would have inflicted a severe wound upon their country and their masters, from whom they had received no injury, towards whom their attachment was unabated and firm, and for whose decision they would have waited patiently, had not the continued accumulation of injury and insult exhausted their forbearance. At this period, when a large proportion of the army was carrying on warlike operations in the Travancore country, the resignation of

even a small number of officers must have occasioned great embarrassment to the Government, and might have produced fatal consequences to the mother country. It is, therefore, fortunate for the State, and creditable to the army, that nothing of the kind has yet taken place.

Some late acts of the Government appear to have excited great commotion in the minds of the officers of the army, and to have resuscitated, with increased violence, that flame which had in some degree subsided. Recent accounts from the army at Hydrabad and Jaulnah, mention that injudicious and indelicate allusion in a late G. O. to the conduct observed by the troops at those stations, has given the greatest offence; in short, the aspect of affairs is now truly awful. A fatal perverseness seems to controul every act of the Government, and to prevent the dispositions of the most moderate and temperate men from becoming useful towards the restoration of peace and good understanding. Those blessings seem to be receding from us; and, unless some speedy and decisive measures be adopted, by that authority which alone can now effectually mediate between the Gover-

nor and the Army of Madras, the opportunity of conciliating may pass by.

The particulars of the G. O. and of the measures it has given rise to, should not be anticipated; for various intervening occurrences still remain. The next communication shall, therefore, resume the narrative from the period when General Gowdie came to the Presidency.

Adieu!

LETTER III.

Madras, 30th June, 1809.

Dear Sir,

It will be observed that the circumstances noticed in the foregoing letters, and all the measures adopted by the Government of Madras, either affecting the army collectively, or directed more immediately against those individuals who were actuated by a desire to vindicate the honor of the profession, proceeded under the authority, and directly in the name of the Governor in Council. The name of the Commander in Chief is, indeed, introduced on the occasion when the gentlemen of the

Institution are rebuked for declining to go to the public entertainment at the Governor's. But it is perfectly well known, that he was altogether innocent of any concern in that extraordinary transaction; the result of which, however, served to prove, that his services were available by the enemies of General Macdowall, who possessed power, and therefore must be right. General Gowdie arrived at Madras on the 17th February; and, shortly after his final interview with Sir G. Barlow, he made to Major Boles a proposal, similar in substance, and in effect, to that which had before been made by a Member of Council, viz. that Major Boles should be restored to the service, and to his appointment, if he would only say that he *was sorry* for having obeyed the orders of General Macdowall on the 28th January. No circumstance had occurred to alter the state of the case; and, consequently, Major Boles excused himself in the same way that he had done before, adding, that he really could not say he was sorry for any thing that had passed, having done only his duty, and relying on the justice of his superiors, for an ample requital of the injuries that had been done him.

It will be proper to bear in mind the terms used by Major Boles in his reply, and the circumstances under which they were applied; for it will be seen, in the sequel, that the import of those terms has since been most shamefully misrepresented, in order to attach to Major Boles an imputation which is totally irreconcilable either with his general character, or with the conduct he has observed since the commencement of this discussion.

It is not likely that, under any circumstances, Major General Gowdie could have possessed much influence in the army; he had, indeed, acquired a high character for bravery, on actual service in the field, but certain well-known transactions had not rendered him popular. Independently of this, the relation in which the Major General stood with respect to the Government, and to those nominally his staff, rendered quite nugatory any attempt of his to controul or direct the opinion of individuals. However, the unexpected exaltation to the chief command, seems to have drawn a veil over all circumstances anterior to that period; and to have conferred on General Gowdie, in his own opinion, and that of the Gover-

nor, a power to guide the judgments of officers, not only in matters appertaining to their profession, but also in subjects of general import. The right of a Commander in Chief to direct the actions and words of all under him in military affairs, cannot for a moment be questioned, particularly in the Madras army, famed for its submissiveness. The suggestion of a doubt regarding the military powers of a Commander in Chief would at any former period have been universally reprehended; but the fate of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, and the comments which had appeared in the Government orders, subsequent to the 31st of January, respecting the conduct of those officers, had introduced a certain laxity of principle on this subject, which gave rise to various discussions regarding the legality, the propriety, or even the necessity, which might occasionally exist for particular orders.

A few days after the arrival of General Gowdie at Madras, an occurrence took place which afforded to Sir G. Barlow, and General Gowdie, an opportunity of ascertaining, in the most unequivocal manner, the sentiments of officers towards the person of the Governor; and at the same time the feeling which

they bore towards the authority delegated by the Governor to the Commander in Chief.

Sir G. Barlow, unadvisedly relying on that appearance of respect which was manifested towards the situations of Governor and Commander in Chief, disregarded, and attempted to treat with indifference, the actual sentiments of a set of men whom habitual subordination renders for the most part passive, and who, therefore, seldom form an unanimous opinion adverse to their superiors, except upon the grounds of self-preservation, either from injury or insult. Fortunate would it have been for his country, for his employers, and for the Madras army, if Sir G. Barlow had taken measures to remove the grounds of discontent which existed in the present instance, or even if he had not acted in such a manner as served gradually to render more than irritable the sense of wrong. Although perfectly aware that no officer except those holding situations at the will of the Government, or Colonel Munro, would voluntarily go to the private dwelling-house of the Governor and his family, where Colonel Munro was frequently to be met, Sir G. Barlow sent cards, invit-

ing the officers of a regiment, in Fort St. George, (about 50 in number) to dinner, on the 1st of March; he, at the same time, invited the officers of a battalion of the 18th regiment to dinner on the 4th of March; the greatest part of the officers of both corps sent apologies, couched in the usual terms for not accepting the invitation. This circumstance, (particularly as the greatest part of the officers were not in the company's service) affords conclusive evidence, if any were wanting, that the disgust at the measures of Sir G. Barlow, was not confined to a few individuals of the Company's service; however, as the consequences of it refer to the present subject, it may be proper to notice them. Between men in equal circumstances, an occurrence of this description would either be considered in the light of a direct insult, and resented as such, or it would be altogether overlooked; but, considering the relative situations of the parties in the present case, the same reasons appear to point out still more strongly, the propriety of avoiding all discussion, which could tend to depreciate the already-fallen dignity of the person representing the chief authority.

But, unfortunately, the same fatality which had produced several previous blunders, now added a principal one.

In order to prevail upon the officers who had sent apologies, *to consent to dine at the Governor's,* various threats and promises were conveyed from the Governor to them, through the medium of Lieutenant Colonel Barclay, who had, through his diligence in offices of this description, acquired a degree of confidence, which the appearances for some time after Sir G.'s arrival rendered very improbable. His efforts, however, on this occasion, proving ineffectual, he was directed to apply for the assistance of Major General Gowdie; and the extraordinary phenomenon was exhibited, of the chief Commander of an army of 80,000 men using the influence which his situation gave him, to induce the officers of two corps to dine at Sir G. Barlow's, after their having signified their disinclination to accept of his invitation; and after their refusal had thus been so public, that it served as a topic throughout the Settlement. The general arguments used by the Commander in Chief were answered by an unanimous voice, that if the acceptance of the invitation were considered

as military, or if he, General Gowdie, would give an order that it should be accepted, the whole of the officers would go; but if it were to be considered optional, and they had the right to decide for themselves, their apologies should not be withdrawn. At last, after two days discussion, General Gowdie told the officers of the corps, in the Fort, that he was himself to dine at the Governor's on the 1st of March, and if they declined going to meet him, he should consider not only that they treated him with slight, but that they were abettors of the general discontent, which he stated to prevail among the officers of the Company's army.

Such imputations being totally unfounded, and likely to injure the officers in question, they did not longer hesitate to accept the invitation, and they accordingly performed the duty of attending at Sir G. Barlow's house, at dinner-time, on the 1st of March.

The officers of the 18th regiment, however, did not go on the 4th. The same arguments were not used to them; and they had, only a few days before, on their arrival in the garrison, manifested their

respect for the public character of the Governor, by waiting on him, when the Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel M'Caully, introduced them severally to Sir G. Barlow. They therefore urged, that their declining to go to the Garden-house could not be construed into a disposition to treat with disrespect the public authority. If such an idea existed, they were ready to accept of the invitation, in compliance with any order which General Gowdie might be pleased to give to that effect. No such order was, however, given, and they consequently did not go. But they were required to make an apology, which they did, by stating, in unequivocal terms, that, in declining to accept Sir G. Barlow's invitation, they did not intend any disrespect towards the public character of the Governor; but, on the contrary, imagined that they were exercising a right which might be exercised with impunity by all gentlemen in society. This was very unfavourably received; and it was generally reported, and believed, that General Gowdie had told Colonel M'Caully, that, although he himself had not declined to go to the Governor's, he was censurable for not having prevailed on his officers

to go; and that the corps should be sent to one of the most distant stations.—At a future period it will not be credited that such a seeming abuse of power could be imputable to the character of a British subject to whom it was delegated. But, unhappily, there are too many evidences that irritating measures of this description have been most wantonly resorted to; and that the pride of the officers, under the Madras Government, has been trifled with and insulted to a degree that will not be credited by their friends and fellow-subjects in Britain. On the 25th of February, General Gowdie informed Major Lindsey, that his corps, the 2d of the 11th, was ordered to quit the Presidency immediately, as the conduct of the officers was disapproved by the Governor. Major Lindsey, astonished at this communication, requested to be informed how the officers had given offence, for he knew them to be a very reputable set of young men, and was not aware of any impropriety that could be imputed to them. General Gowdie acquainted him, that Sir G. Barlow had learned, that Major Boles had, some days before, dined at the mess of the 11th; and that, therefore, the corps must

quit the Presidency, as Sir G. was resolved to shew his disapprobation towards those who gave any countenance to Major Boles. In reply to this, Major Lindsey observed, that the officers of the 11th could not be aware of any impropriety in admitting to their mess an old, and much-respected brother officer, more especially as Major Boles had, since his suspension, been invited to, and dined at, the messes of his Majesty's Royal Regiment, and of the Artillery. This remark was totally disregarded, and the corps marched towards Vellore, on the 27th. The universal anxiety that prevailed at this period, rendered every event of this description highly interesting; consequently the reports of them spread quickly, and every circumstance which could render the tyrannical abuse of power more disgusting, was presented to the imagination in the most lively colours.

The hardship of Colonel M'Caully's case was contemplated with mixed feelings of horror and indignation. This officer had served the company, faithfully and honorably, for 30 years; and now, at an advanced period of life, with a large family to support, and without any other property than his

monthly pay, he was condemned to undertake a long and expensive journey, accompanied by those most dear to him, to a station, from whence there is little probability that they will all ever return. Those acquainted with military affairs will not perceive any particular hardship in an officer being obliged to go, in the routine of his profession, to a station, whether healthy or otherwise, which must be occupied by some portion of troops; but no perversion of the term can ever justify the circumstances under which Colonel M'Caully was sent to a post, selected, as the Commander in Chief said, because it was very distant, and rendered more eligible by the recent accounts which represented it to be so unhealthy, that many had already died, and general sickness prevailed in such a degree, that the officer then in command requested permission to evacuate it. To the feelings naturally produced by this extraordinary circumstance, there was added the surprise of all who had known the character which General Gowdie had borne; they did not suppose it possible that he, who had brought up a large family, and who was, perhaps, indebted to that family for the tranquillity with which

he passed some of the stages of his career, could ever be induced to be the organ and instrument of a gross act of injustice towards an old and meritorious officer, whom he had known as a boy in the service, and who now possessed, equally with himself, all those claims on humanity which arise from the dependence of a family. Yet did General Gowdie (as yet) seem to wish it to be understood that these measures originated with himself. The disposition to persecute Major Boles, to drive him even from the society of his brother officers, by punishing those who shewed him any attention, cannot be accounted for by any of the principles which men acknowledge themselves to be actuated by. He had studiously avoided every means of attracting the attention of the public to his peculiarly hard situation; and if the circumstances of it drew from a generous community the tribute of respect, and commiseration, it would have been more seemly in his enemies, powerful as they are, to have avoided, by all means, the appearance of that pitiful malignity, which seeks, as its only preservative, the utter destruction of those whom it has injured. But they, judging that the means of appeal were very

distant, and that their own representations, if not refuted by the opposite party, would probably produce a decision which must be favorable to themselves, used every means to oppose such refutation; and relying upon the success which their unlimited power enabled them to command, they wantonly indulged their most rancorous prejudices, and trampled on those rules which, in England, are indispensable to the most hackneyed politician.

In the infancy of British India, such measures on the part of the rulers might have been successful, and might have passed without remark. The community consisted, for the most part, of adventurers; the leading individuals of whom derived their greatest advantages from certain abuses, the indulgence of which was to be purchased only by the sacrifice of those feelings, and of that independent pride, which the constitution allows every honest Briton to enjoy *in his native country*; but at this time they were equally injudicious, as they were inadequate to the objects of their authors. For they, whom an Indian Governor now rules, being generally men of education and acquirements, who have formed their ideas

of society, at a period which has afforded to all the civilized world most conclusive proofs of the advantages which a comparatively small state derives from allowing each individual the enjoyment of those privileges that are necessary to the maintenance of his rank in the community; such men cannot endure, beyond a very limited extent, the tyrannical, or the corrupt abuse of power, or the wanton indulgence of malignant prejudice. This unhappy contest does not exhibit the efforts of an upright Government, opposing the extravagant views of ambitious adventurers; who, goaded by necessity, and desirous to promote a change which may benefit, but cannot deteriorate their situation; on the contrary, it will be seen, that every individual, who has hitherto suffered by the exercise of the power of the present Government of Madras, was in actual enjoyment of a situation of emolument and advantage, to which the greatest part of them had, under former Governors, been promoted on account of the good reputations which they bore, and not through the influence of powerful connexions; the names of Cooke, Kippen, Conway, Sinclair, &c. will, to those who are acquainted with

the modern history of Madras, afford a pretty good criterion by which a judgment may be formed respecting the principles which at present regulate the selections for honorable distinction. After the removal of the officers of the Institution, and of the 1st battalion of the 18th, for not going to Sir G. Barlow's entertainment, and that of the 2nd battalion, 11th regiment, because Major Boles had dined at their mess, matters continued tolerably quiet, and the community, though under the awful apprehension of the increased effects of the disposition which the Governor had manifested, indulged a hope that the number, and the respectability, of the victims who had been sacrificed on account of favouritism, would be considered sufficient to appease the wrath of its powerful supporter. Had this been the case, it is probable that matters might have gradually settled into tranquillity; and, although it had become impossible that a good understanding should ever subsist between Sir G. Barlow and the great body of the officers of the army, that the latter would have patiently waited for a decision by the superior authority in India, or by the sovereign authorities in Europe; but the

fallacious calm of a few days was, about the middle of March, interrupted by an act of the Governor, bearing the same complexion with those that have been already noticed; and therefore occasioning a general irritation, the more violent as it had been for a time restrained. At this time, Sir G. Barlow signified his intention of immediately removing from the Presidency Major Macdowall, the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, Lieutenant Stock, Deputy Secretary of the Military Board, and several civilians. Proscriptions had now become so common, that the term *Convict* was familiarly applied to those who were found too honest to remain in the immediate precincts of the seat of Government. The civil Convicts, on the present occasion, consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had unfortunately been selected as jurors on the famous trials of Mr. Batley and Reddy Row, or who had been so imprudent as to avow, on that subject, and the military question, opinions suggested by the nature of the case. The cause of Major Macdowall's removal was not at first so apparent; this officer had ever been distinguished for his prudence, and the propriety of his conduct, in every situation that he had hitherto

filled; he had been particularly selected by General Gowdie, to fill the situation vacated by the dismissal of Major Boles; and the nomination had been highly approved by the Governor, at a period only one month prior to that now under discussion; in short, considering Major Macdowall's character, and the circumstances of his present situation, it was supposed that he was one of those least likely to suffer in the general havoc which had been denounced, and was expected to fall upon the officers of the army. However, being informed of the intentions of the Government towards him, he, on the 24th March, addressed a letter to the Honourable Sir G. Barlow, in which he states, that, during the time he had held the situation, he had endeavoured, with unwearied assiduity, to afford satisfaction: that General Gowdie had expressed his entire approbation of every part of his conduct, but that he feared some misapprehension existed which gave rise to the intention of removing him; he therefore requests he may be informed of the cause, in order that enquiry may be instituted, and explanation afforded. To this appeal, Major Macdowall did not receive any answer; for, according

to the phraseology, which had been recently adopted, it was not deemed expedient that any reason should be assigned for the measures of Government. It would have been fortunate if reason had been consulted in forming their measures; then would explanations not have been required, neither would complaints have been necessary.

Major Macdowall also addressed a letter on the same subject to General Gowdie, to which he received the following reply:

"My dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 24th, and can, with the greatest truth, declare, that your conduct, while Deputy Adjutant General under me, has given me the utmost satisfaction; and I must sincerely regret that existing circumstances, of which I am not competent to judge, has deprived me of the services of a man of such sterling ability, for whom I have the strongest personal esteem and regard.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your stedfast friend,

(Signed) "F. Gowdie.

"*Madras*, 25*th March*, 1809.

"*Capt. J. Macdowall.*"

The foregoing letter is not introduced for the purpose of making any remark on the style, or the orthographical merits which it possesses, but because it affords sufficient proof of the relative situation of a Commander in Chief at Madras, at this time; when a person, holding that high situation, declares himself to be incompetent to judge of the circumstances which had deprived him of the services of an officer whose abilities he considered respectable, and for whom he entertained strong personal esteem and regard. It must be inferred either that he was kept in total ignorance of those circumstances, or that, if communicated to him, he was required to suspend his judgment altogether, even in matters most important to the discharge of the trust reposed in him. The situation of Deputy Adjutant General has always been one of considerable importance; for although, in the presence of his principal, the Deputy bore no immediate responsibility, it frequently occurred that the absence of the principal vested the Deputy with the full and exclusive charge of the office. This was particularly the case with Major M. The Adjutant General, Colonel Capper, and the former Deputy, Major Boles, had been removed; Lieutenant

Colonel Cappage, it is true, had been nominated to the office, but he was in Travancore, far distant from the Presidency ; no accounts had been received from him, and, indeed, there was much reason to suppose, that he would not readily accept, nay, that he would altogether decline, to hold a situation which must be disgraceful, and disreputable, if Colonel Munro, the Quarter Master General, was allowed to continue to meddle with, and derange every department of the office. Thus Major Macdowall was the only person to whom General Gowdie, himself a stranger to detail, could refer on all points relative to recruiting, discipline, courts martial, or clothing of the army, and all other matters belonging to the department of Adjutant General ; yet he was deprived of the services of such a man, at such a time, for reasons that he was either altogether ignorant of, or that he was not competent to judge of. It, however, appeared from some expressions which the General used, when discussing this matter, that the true reason of Major Macdowall's removal, was his refusal to hold any communication with Colonel Munro, except on subjects connected with public duty. He had been induced to form this resolution

from an intimate knowledge of the recent transaction in which Colonel Munro had borne so conspicuous a part; and, being a man of strict probity and honour, he would not, by threats or promises, be prevailed upon to abandon what he had adopted from principle; his removal was therefore deemed expedient, in order that a machine of more plastic materials might be placed in his room. The degradation of Lieutenant Stock was equally without excuse; his correctness and assiduity in his public duty, as well as the uprightness and integrity of his private character, had gained this officer the respect and regard of all who knew him; and he had every prospect of rising to distinction on the Staff of the army, had not his situation exposed him to the necessity of making a choice whether to consult his interest at the expense of every feeling of pride and honour, or to follow the dictates of the independent spirit of a gentleman, equally fearless and careless of the result. Although no admirer of the principles (or more properly) the rules which guided the conduct of Colonel Munro, Lieutenant Stock nevertheless continued to observe the forms of acquaintance with that character, until the period when the interference of the

superior authority shielded him from the impending dangers of public enquiry, and justice; then, finding that Colonel Munro had eagerly availed himself of the screen, and when concealed behind it, had employed himself in turning against the most respectable of his brother officers, that power which had saved himself, Lieutenant Stock deemed it unworthy of his character as a gentleman, and an officer, to hold any further intercourse with him. His removal appears to have been resolved on, and his place was filled by a Mr. Maclean, who is looked upon to be one of the most staunch of Colonel Munro's new friends, as not being likely to decline speaking to him, under any circumstances, so long as the Colonel retains the power either to serve or to injure him.

Such instances of the abuse of power, and total dereliction of the forms of decency, and of the appearance of justice, which repect to the opinion of the world induces even the boldest and most unprincipled rulers to observe, could not fail to increase the odium, and to render more rancorous, the detestation with which the public viewed the authors of these measures. At every station of the army the Convicts, as they

were called, were received with enthusiastic marks of respect and admiration. They were all men of good reputation, and having made willing sacrifice of all their temporal interests, and personal views, in order to preserve their principles and their honor, they were hailed as innocent and much honoured victims, immolated on the altar of a cabal, who had endeavoured to introduce a system of tyranny and corruption, more base and vile than any that could be found in the records of British India. Such was the language that was imprudently used in every society; and those who filled the parts of delators and spies had abundant means of manifesting their diligence. But the employment of such people was more likely to increase than correct the evil; the presence of spies and tale-bearers rather irritate those whom they are intended to restrain; and their existence, by proving the impurity of the system that maintains them, serves only to increase the want of respect, and the detestation from which their employers seek protection in them. A radical change in the system, or a removal of some of the causes of uneasiness, could alone assuage the discontent, or appease the irritation, that had thus been wantonly cherished,

and gradually matured almost into an open schism. The hope that any reformation would originate at Madras, was nearly extinct; and those who had looked with sanguine expectations, to the good effects which might have been produced by the active interference of the supreme Government, experienced the most serious disappointment, from a communication which proved, that the Governor General had been grossly deceived, and that he had adopted opinions which precluded all prospect that he would either institute any enquiry respecting the causes which had led to the embarrassments, of which Sir George Barlow complained, or that he would, by the exercise of his authority, prevent any further discussion on one side, or prosecution on the other.

It is highly probable, that, at the period to which the narrative is now arrived, the interposition of the immediate authority of the Governor General would have been fully effectual. At all events, the same measures would have had greater weight at that period than at any subsequent one. Indeed, the infatuation on both sides appears already to have proceeded to such length, that it seems

doubtful whether any thing short of the presence of the Governor General could now restore even moderation. Instead of benefiting by the experience which the effects of his former acts have afforded, Sir George Barlow now appears to have lost the recollection of what has passed, and all sensibility to what is passing around him; he seems to have put his judgment into commission, and distrusting his own mental powers, exercised hitherto on foreign subjects, to depend implicitly on external advice. Much of his attention having been given to the study of the Hindoo and Mohammedan systems of jurisprudence, and to the formation of regulations for the Government of Asiatics, among whom the name of liberty is not understood, neither has the idea existed for ages; it would seem that this study has obliterated what he may ever have known of the characters and dispositions of his fellow subjects of Britain, whose ancestors, after they had submitted to the Roman Government, were described by Tacitus in words to the following effect: "The Britons are "a people who pay their taxes and obey the "laws with pleasure, *provided no arbitrary* "*and illegal demands are made upon them;*

"but these they cannot bear without the "greatest impatience, for they are only "reduced to the state of subjects, not of "slaves."

That Britons of the 19th century are equally free, and equally impatient of arbitrary and illegal impositions, as were their ancestors of the 2nd or 3rd century, is a fact that will not be doubted by any except those, who may have allowed the study of foreign constitutions to eradicate from their minds the knowledge of that of their own country. The sentiments of the Governor General respecting the state of affairs at Madras, were, in the month of March, communicated to the several stations under the Madras Government, to each of which an extract of a letter from the supreme Government, dated 20th February, 1809, was sent for general information. In this letter the conduct of General Macdowall is severely reprehended, and it is stated "that the impropriety of his conduct has been aggravated by his placing Colonel Munro under arrest, after the Judge Advocate General's official declaration of the illegality of the charges, and by his refusal to take off the arrest, after the

officers who had so irregularly and discreditably preferred the charges against Colonel Munro had, in consequence of the Judge Advocate General's declared sentiments, regarding their illegality, requested the Commander in Chief to suspend the prosecution of them." Some further animadversions on the conduct of General Macdowall, and an unequivocal approbation of the steps which the Madras Government adopted towards that officer, compose the whole of the extract. Not a word is mentioned respecting the dismissal from office, and the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles. From this it appeared evident, that, although Lord Minto could not approve of the measures which had been adopted towards those officers, detailed as they were only by the opposite party, and represented no doubt in colours the most favourable to the cause of that party, still he had received, with full force, the impressions which it was the interest of the local Government to convey, respecting the motives and the conduct of General Macdowall; and, acting under those impressions, had assumed a prejudice on the subject, which must render it every day more difficult for him to view the question with impar-

tiality. This prejudice, or this impression, (or whatever it may be called) appears to have prevented the Governor General from hazarding any remark respecting the cases of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, being desirous not to disapprove, even when he could not applaud. The officers of the Madras Army therefore perceived, that the cause of those much-injured men, which was in effect the cause of every man holding a commission in the Company's Service, was utterly disregarded; they learned, with the deepest concern and uneasiness, that there were no hopes of redress from that quarter, to which alone they could have looked with any prospect of success. For it were vain to expect consideration from their more immediate superiors, at this instant, deceived as they were by a set of men, whose powers, and whose enormous emoluments, had been derived from, and were supported by, the same causes, that injured and alienated the minds of the most respectable part of the community.

It is not easy to account for the hardihood with which the enemies of General Macdowall endeavoured to crush him, by u ing misrepresentation, the falsehood of

which it must be impossible for them to conceal, however they may prevaricate and disguise it. From the letter of the supreme Government it appears, that General Macdowall was represented as having urged the arrest of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, in defiance of the Judge Advocate General's official declaration of the illegality of the charges, and of a request to the contrary from the officers who had preferred the charges. This assertion, as has been already stated, was altogether false and groundless. The arguments of the Judge Advocate General, however specious, were not considered to be conclusive, from the causes that have been before noticed; and, in fact, the arrest of Colonel Munro was immediately caused by an appeal which was made against the Judge Advocate General's opinion to the authority of the Commander in Chief, and to the articles of war. It is probable, that General Macdowall's enemies did not suppose that the detection of this misrepresentation would take place so soon, and imagined, as he was gone from India, that the power which they possessed would enable them to stifle any efforts that might be made to vindicate his cause. At all events, it was pretty certain

that the advantage which they could use of representing the subject in the manner most advantageous to themselves, would establish a prejudice in their favour, which would produce the conclusion they desired, before any discussion could take place regarding the original merits of the question. Moreover, it is not impossible that Sir George Barlow was himself deceived, by those whose interest it was to vilify General Macdowall, and whose chief object it was to retain, even for the present, the ascendant which they had acquired. Wherever the deceit may have originated, it was manifest that it had the full effect with the Governor General; and, therefore, that he was strongly prejudiced against any representation which could at this period be made to him, relative to the new predicament in which the Company's officers were placed; of being liable to lose their commissions at the beck of any time-serving sycophant about the Government. Such must literally be considered the situation of every officer in the Company's service, if Colonel Leith's *ex-post-facto* opinion be admitted, to justify the dismissal of Colonel Capper and Major Boles. It is scarcely possible to suppose an act less likely to produce the for-

feiture of a military commission, than the performance of a work (not manifestly illegal) under the express and peremptory order of the Commander in Chief in person. But, whatever may be the occasion chosen for the removal and ruin of a person who may become obnoxious to a favourite, the head of a government, possessing great patronage, and great power, will always find an advocate to justify the measure. Deplorable indeed is the condition of persons obliged to live under such a system. It will not excite wonder in the minds of Englishmen, and particularly of those who consider the military profession to be the soil most congenial to the growth of honourable pride, and liberal principles, if the contemplation of such a picture occasioned to the officers of the Madras Army, an anxiety and uneasiness approaching to despair. They had, for a commission to be held until they forfeited it by the breach of some known law, *(quamdiu bene se gesserint)* relinquished the society, almost the acquaintance, of their dearest relations, the comforts and innumerable pleasures of residing in their native country; they had devoted themselves to the duties of an arduous and dangerous

profession, in a foreign and unhealthy climate, and they now learned, for the first time, that these commissions could be taken from them without any form of trial, or enquiry whatever; that, after losing the commission, they might be most arbitrarily prevented from proceeding to Europe to lay their case before the Court of Directors; that their friends and acquaintances might be punished for associating with them; and that, under the pressure of these calamities, deprived of a profession, of the means of subsistence, except what charity gave, and even of the consolation to be derived from the condolence of friends, they dared not even entertain the hope of being permitted to appeal to the superior authority in India.

Such were the reflections of the officers after they had considered the substance of the letter from the Supreme Government; and there were few who would not have cheerfully sacrificed every prospect in life, rather than remain in possession of a doubtful property. There were not any who doubted the success of a regular appeal to the Honourable the Court of Directors, from whose uniform justice, if the case came fairly before them, it might be reasonably expected that redress

would be given for the injuries that had already been inflicted on many individuals in the army, as well as on the whole body collectively; also, that adequate punishment would fall on the heads of those, whose abuse of the power entrusted to them had estranged the affections of a respectable and numerous body of meritorious and faithful servants. But the means to prevent appeal from reaching the Court of Directors had been so rigorously used, and those which could effect the previous arrival of the ex-parte narrative, had been so industriously adopted, one by the misrepresentation to the Supreme Government, and the detention of Major Boles, and the other by the special mission of Mr. Buchan to England, that little hope existed of redress by representation. The situation of Major Boles appeared, therefore, to be entitled to the greatest commiseration, and to merit every species of alleviation, which it was in the power of his brother officers to afford, doubtful, as it now was, whether his fate might not be decided on in England, before the representation of his case, or even his memorial, could reach his judges.

It was therefore proposed, that a subscription should be raised, by voluntary con-

tribution from the officers of the army, for the purpose of relieving Major Boles and his family from the imminent distress which awaited them. The propriety of this measure was so self-evident, that it met with universal approbation, and almost every officer who had an opportunity, testified, in the most unequivocal manner, his eagerness to participate in a work, which, while it gratified the personal feelings of each individual, did not appear likely to incur the open displeasure of the powerful prosecutors of Major Boles; as it merely and exclusively implied, that the officers, thus subscribing, had agreed to appropriate a portion of their property to the relief of a much-respected individual, whose distresses had been brought on, not by any act which could detract from the respect which had before attached to his character, as an officer or gentleman, but by a new and extravagant interpretation of the duty of an officer, holding a subordinate situation; an interpretation so monstrous in itself, that the authors of it deemed it not to be susceptible of justification by any common reasoning, but to require the ambiguous aid of metaphysical sophistry, which has been

so dexterously applied, that every proposition has been positively proved in favour of the side on which it was offered, by arguments which have, however, failed to convince the mind of any one impartial reader.

The enemies of General Macdowall being determined, while they possessed the power, to subdue every attempt that might be made to favour any of those who were concerned with him on the present occasion, immediately took the alarm, when they found the cause of Major Boles so generally popular. Means were therefore immediately used to induce the officers, who had subscribed, to withhold their contributions, and to deter others from subscribing. In consequence of the threats held out in this way, the officers of two regiments, (not in the company's service) withdrew their names from the list, wherein they had subscribed. However, a great proportion of officers addressed a letter to Major Boles, expressing their concern for the unmerited punishment he had suffered, and their resolution to form a fund for the purpose of relieving him from the distresses with which he was now threatened, for an act which they were bound to approve; as every individual felt the conviction, that he should

conscientiously have followed the same course, if he had been placed in the same predicament that Major Boles was.

An avowal thus unequivocal, that the measure of Government was deemed unjust and illegal, was not made without much painful reluctance and regret; but necessity obliged a body of honourable men to adopt the only alternative which now remained, to avert their utter degradation. A commission, which could at will be destroyed by the caprice of a prejudiced individual, was not worth holding, and the danger to which all were exposed by arbitrary conduct, had made men bold, because it united them in a common cause.

The letter having been addressed to Major Boles,* a copy of it was sent for the information of Sir G. Barlow, by an officer belonging to his personal staff, who, consistently with the honourable principles that had uniformly distinguished him, disdained to conceal, for a moment, an act which he thought it proper to perform; or to continue even nominally to hold any situation immediately under a person whose public measures he considered to merit reproach. This officer was deservedly held in high estimation.

* Appendix K.

The reputation of his activity, his zeal for the public service, and his professional abilities, had awakened the notice even of Sir G. Barlow. Accordingly, when the preparations were making for the invasion of Travancore, this officer was, by desire of the Governor, informed, that his assistance on the scene of active operations would be very desirable. He, therefore, without any prospect of advantage beyond the satisfaction which an officer derives from the faithful discharge of his duty, left the Presidency, and proceeded to Travancore, where he was at the time the letter was addressed to Major Boles; and it was from thence he transmitted his resignation of the staff-situation he had held; accompanied by a copy of the letter, which, as he informed Lieutenant Colonel Barclay, the Governor's Secretary, bore his signature, as well as that of several other officers.

A proceeding so disinterested, so manly, and so strongly indicating an high sense of pure honor, might have been expected to assuage all malignity, even though the measure might not in itself be approved. It was like the crime of Orpheus:

"Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes."

And those who have passed judgment on it have acted as the powers below did with respect to the Musician, whose celebrity has furnished the allusion.

The receipt of this communication occasioned a considerable degree of commotion at the Presidency. The party there had, from the first, been desirous to make the world believe that the discontent, and disgust at their measures, were confined exclusively to a few individuals, the friends of General Macdowall. They had now introduced a set of men into the principal situations, who would abet the doctrines that were prescribed; and matters appeared to have got into such a train as would render it practicable to verify, and establish, whatever story might appear most likely to accomplish their ends. The letter to Major Boles, as it had many signatures of persons in all ranks, and at all stations, at once dissipated the hopes that had been formed on that score; and, after some days deliberation, it was resolved, that General Gowdie should be employed to announce to the army a circumstance which it was in vain any longer to affect ignorance of. The Commander in Chief accordingly circulated to

officers in command of stations, a letter, which seems to consist of the arguments of Colonel Leith, in the language of General Gowdie. Some parts of it deserve particular notice; they shall therefore be remarked upon at a future period.

For some time past, much uneasiness has been felt respecting the state of the garrison of Masulipatam.* It appears that the vessel in which Captain Marshall proceeded to Vizagapatam stopped at Masulipatam for a week, in the course of which Captain Marshall was invited to, and dined at, the mess of the Madras European Regiment, on which account Captain Andrews was superseded. Lieutenant Colonel James Innes was sent from the Presidency to take the command, and furnished with instructions to rebuke the officers, and to report any circumstances which he might discover, that could lead to the punishment of any of them. The selection of Colonel Innes for a duty of this description excited the greatest astonishment in all who knew him; and his conduct there has confirmed all the alarms which were felt. Several letters, containing accusations and recriminations, have been received from that station; and

* Appendix L.

it is much to be feared that some orders, which General Gowdie has given, will produce some desperate outrage. The smallest spark at this time may cause an explosion that will shake, to the foundation, the principles of the authority which attaches India to Britain. The apprehension, dreadful as it is, cannot now be slighted. The measures pursued have, by gradual operation, raised in the minds of all the military a most universal hatred, mingled with contempt, which renders them indifferent as to consequences; and in this state of things the same system is followed; each previous act of injustice seems countenanced by the enormity of that which succeeds it; the disposition to forbearance is nearly worn out on the side of the army, and the community are now under the awful expectation of some dreadful catastrophe.

ADIEU!

LETTER IV.

Madras, 15th July, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

THE deplorable crisis is at length arrived, and the Governor of Madras

has made the fatal discovery, that there is a limit beyond which oppression will not be borne even by the most submissive. Recent accounts from Masulipatam mention, that an attempt to disperse the officers of the Madras European Regiment, and to draft the men, had produced a disobedienee of the orders of Government, and that Lieutenant Colonel Innes, whose measures do not appear to have been conducted with much judgment, had been superseded in his command by the garrison. Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm has in consequence been sent from the Presidency, with special instructions to adjust the differences which unhappily prevail there: all honest men must wish him success, and none can own a contrary sentiment, but who hope that the after acts of the army may afford a seeming pretext for the system preceding.

In order that the causes and progress of the principal transactions may be clearly perceived, it will be necessary that the narrative should proceed regularly; for these events, so important in themselves, of so much moment to the East India Company, and to the mother country, will be found to have arisen from causes apparently tri-

fling, but each forming part of a system of measures unprecedented in any former Government, unwarranted by the circumstances of the period, and unjustifiable by any of the principles which ought to regulate the Government of an extensive community of enlightened men.

Towards the end of April, the circular letter from General Gowdie, dated the 10th of April, had been received at the principal stations of the army, when certain parts of it excited feelings very different from those which it was intended to produce. The Major General, after stating that "he deprecates the discussion in general orders, of odious and indelicate questions," proceeds to comment on the particular case of Major Boles, in the following words: "As compassion for Major Boles may have drawn "in the officers to the measure, I think it "proper to explain that Major Boles has, "in my opinion, deprived himself of any "particular claim to feelings of that nature. "It had never been, I was persuaded, the "intention of Government to deal severely "with that officer; but only to vindicate "that respect due to their own authority, "which every Government must be anxious

" to maintain. And, accordingly, (but " without any instructions to that effect) " soon after my succeeding to the command, " I took the occasion to signify to Major " Boles, that if he would express any ade- " quate regret for what he had done; as, that " when he affixed his signature to the order, " he was not aware of the consequence, " and thought he was acting right without " meaning any offence to Government, but " was now sorry for what had happened; I " would make it my business to get him " reinstated in his rank and official situation; " but this explanation, so natural to have " been expected, and which included in it " no personal concession of character, was " rejected, (and not without some warmth) " by his exclaiming, that he was sorry for " nothing that had happened, or words to " that effect." The avowal of modesty, " which deprecated the discussion of odious and delicate questions," did not excite more surprize in the minds of those who had personal knowledge of the timid delicacy which marked the Major General's sentiments and manner, than the malicious attempt to injure Major Boles did indignation in all who read the paragraph above quoted. It is impos-

sible to contemplate, with any degree of gravity, the rhodomontade that is displayed in it. Major General Gowdie who, on the 24th of March, publicly declared his incompetency to judge of the circumstances which deprived him of the services of Major Macdowall, whose conduct as Deputy Adjutant General he had highly approved, this General, on the 10th of April, states, in all the pomp of substantive authority, that he was persuaded the Government had never intended to deal severely with Major Boles, and that, upon certain conditions, he, Major General Gowdie, would make it his business to get Major Boles reinstated, &c. Such professions, however well they might appear at first view in an official communication, were calculated to produce a feeling very different from respect among the officers of the army, who were perfectly acquainted with the extent of General Gowdie's influence, as Commander in Chief. But the bitterest indignation of these officers was raised, when they found, that he who had for many years enjoyed the opportunity of associating with men of honourable principles and generous sentiments, had lent his name, and the shadow of authority, which was allowed him, for

the purpose of completing the ruin of an individual, whose greatest imputed crime might, according to the General's acknowledgment, have been expiated by his saying, "*He was sorry.*" And when they considered the insidious insinuation, which was intended to prevent them from relieving the wants of Major Boles, by deceiving them into the belief that he had been contumacious, although General Gowdie was perfectly aware that Major Boles could not consistently, either with principle, or with duty, originate any apology, or express his contrition in any other terms than those he had already used, for an act which it would have been criminal in him to have declined. However, the disposition and character of Major Boles were too well known to admit of any credit being given to this insinuation, and, upon the whole, the letter of General Gowdie did much mischief. In allusion to one of the expressions contained in it, it was called the *odious and indelicate* production, and served as an object of much ribaldry and jocular mirth.

About this period, a circumstance occurred, which gave another proof of the relative situation of the head of the military

establishment, and afforded a further elucidation of the terms upon which Major General Gowdie was fain to bear the nominal title of Commander in Chief. At the time he succeeded to the command, his kinsman, Lieutenant John Wilson, held the situation of personal Aid-de-Camp to himself; but as he hoped soon to be able to procure a more advantageous situation for Lieutenant Wilson, he gave a positive promise that Lieutenant J. Scott, Adjutant of the 1st battalion, 22nd Native regiment, should be appointed his Aid-de-Camp; accordingly, when Lieutenant Wilson was appointed Assistant Adjutant General to the Northern division, Lieutenant Scott and his friends expected that he would be called to the Presidency, to the family of Major General Gowdie; they therefore experienced great surprise and chagrin on finding that General Gowdie's promise could not be kept, and that Lieutenant Scott could not be appointed. This information was communicated by a letter from General Gowdie, in which he expressed much concern on account of not being able to fulfil his engagement, as the Governor, Sir G. Barlow, had told him that he could not permit Lieutenant Scott to get

any appointment, because his name was among the signatures to a certain memorial, which had some months before been addressed to the Court of Directors. The General notices, that he is obliged to take into his family, as Aid-de-Camp, Lieutenant Walker, a man whom he had not seen, and of whom he knew nothing further, than that he was a relation, or dependant, on Lieutenant Colonel Barclay, the Town Major, and Military Secretary to Sir G. Barlow. This explanation fully acquitted General Gowdie to Lieutenant Scott, and his friends, of any intentional breach of his word in failing to fulfil his promise; but afforded to all the army an opportunity of remarking the striking contrast which existed between the actual power possessed by him, and that which he vaunted forth in the letter respecting Major Boles. He therein professes not only his ability to reinstate, but intimates, that he was in some sort informed of the intentions of Government, when they suspended that officer, *without meaning to deal severely with him.* Such a contradiction produced conclusions not very favourable to the General.

The latter events which have been mentioned, were not calculated to produce any

convulsion among the officers of the army, although they served to rivet more strongly in their minds the sentiments of detestation and abhorrence with which they viewed the prevailing system, and its authors. Of the same description were the vexatious measures adopted respecting Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger and Captain James Grant: they were considered merely vexatious towards individuals; and the horror which was felt at the prospect of the consequences that might result from manifesting resentment so frequently as occasion was given for it, accompanied by the hope that it might yet be possible to prevent an open rupture, and that regular order might subsist, until a decision on the great question might be received from Europe, induced the moderate to inculcate forbearance, and disposed all to practice it. Nearly three months had at this time elapsed, since the departure of General Macdowall; it might, therefore, reasonably be hoped that he was now well advanced on his way to England; and as Colonel Capper had joined him at Ceylon, that the common superiors of the parties in dissension might, through the means of those officers, obtain a fair statement of

circumstances, or such at least as might enable them to form an equitable judgment on the cases of Colonel Capper and Major Boles: all these considerations operated strongly, and their influence produced a calm which only felt temporary interruption from the occasional acts which Sir G. Barlow exercised towards those individuals, whose principles, or firmness, had rendered them obnoxious to him, or his minions. At the Presidency, it is true, the alarm was without intermission. The number of spies, who were interspersed through all ranks of society, most effectually extirpated general confidence, and introduced a suspicious coldness that was much increased by the presence of persons whose conduct and character had hitherto kept them at a distance, but who, availing themselves of the encouragement given to the qualities which they respectively possessed, now found their way into every circle, and effectually contaminated the current of social intercourse, by the suspicion with which each looked upon his neighbour. All this tended to increase that sullen gloom which arose from contemplating the unprecedented daily acts that have rendered this period an epoch in the annals of British India.

Yet, while those feelings prevailed at Madras, the societies at out-stations enjoyed a comparative degree of tranquillity; for, although they were perpetually disturbed by accounts of the transactions of the Presidency, still they experienced that sort of satisfaction and comfort which arises from mutual confidence and good understanding. The most strict obedience and attention were still paid to every part of public duty, notwithstanding the freedom with which all thought, and spoke, of certain characters in high situations. Indeed, subordination and good conduct prevailed so much, that Sir G. Barlow, and his advisers, affected still to consider the great body of the officers as indifferent, or in some sort reconciled to his measures; and, relying upon the proverbial submissiveness and discipline which had ever distinguished the Coast army, he resolved on a fatal measure, which struck at every principle of feeling and pride, which attached the officers to their profession. There is reason to suppose, that Sir G. Barlow might still have avoided the destructive course he took, had he not been betrayed by false misrepresentations, and driven blindfold into the snare, by the creatures in whose power he

actually was, without being aware of it. They could not entertain the hope of retaining their ill-deserved stations, if matters remained quiet, or if those individuals who felt an interest about their profession, and whose judgment could not be bought off, were allowed to represent their situation in any way.

Such appear to have been the motives and the means by which Sir G. Barlow was led to adopt an act, most injudicious, impolitic, and rash.—This was the suspension of four officers from the service—the removal of two from important commands—and that of two others from staff situations—as announced in the general order, under date the 1st of May, to which unfortunate production is to be ascribed every singular proceeding which has since taken place in the army, as well as those which are still to be apprehended, unless some fortunate occurrence intervene to produce a change in the system.

No description would be adequate to convey an idea of the agitation which the receipt of this general order produced at all the army stations. From its melancholy effects, however, it will be easy to judge;

but, previous to mentioning them, it will be proper to advert to the particular passages of the order itself.

The order commences with a studied eulogium on the long-established zeal and discipline of the Madras army, of which the Governor seems to have formed an idea rather hyperbolical; for it is stated, that they induced an expectation that the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, would be received with *respect* and *obedience*. The natural infirmity of mankind renders it impossible that the persons selected to fill the various departments of Government should be perfect: it therefore becomes necessary to the maintenance of order, and it is a maxim in the constitution of civilized nations, that *obedience* shall, in the first instance, be paid to all orders proceeding from the authorities regularly constituted, although those orders may in themselves be unjust. But neither law nor reason can pretend to exact from men, possessing any idea of civil liberty, *respect* towards acts of positive injustice. Such doctrine is calculated only for the nations of India, amongst whom respect consists in gesticulation and outward forms; and with whom it may

possibly be proper to enforce various laws, that Englishmen could not understand, and certainly would not conform to.

The general order proceeds to notice, that proceedings of an unjustifiable nature had taken place subsequent to the departure of General Macdowall; and to state, that the most reprehensible of those proceedings was, the preparation of remonstrances to the Governor General, on the subject of the late proceedings at Madras; in the preparation and circulation of which paper Captain Marshall and Lieutenant Colonel Martin are stated to have been principally concerned.— Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger and Major de Morgan are said to have been active in the circulation of it.

The general order then notices the address to Major Boles (which has already been mentioned); and this address is said to have been forced on the attention of the Governor by Captain James Grant. The circulation of this paper, at the Mount, is said to have been promoted by Lieutenant Robert Bell, of Artillery; and Lieutenant Colonels Chalmers and Cuppage, are mentioned as håving taken no steps to repress, or to report, the proceedings pursued by

the part of the troops under their orders. Captain J. M. Coombs is also noticed as having been concerned in these reprehensible proceedings.

Then follows the expression of the displeasure of the Governor in Council, in terms perfectly unequivocal, as they declare the suspension from the service of

Lieut. Colonel the Hon. A. Sentleger;
Major J. de Morgan;
Captain J. Marshall; and
Captain J. Grant;

The removal from military charge and command of Lieutenant Colonels Robert Bell and Chalmers, and the removal from their staff situations of Lieutenant Colonel J. Cuppage, Adjutant General, and Captain J. M. Coombs, Assistant Quarter Master General, in Mysore.

After a short explanation of the powers of the Governor, Sir G. Bariow expresses his satisfaction in publishing his conviction that the majority of the army had resisted all participation in the proceedings described in the order, and his approbation of the conduct of the troops in his Majesty's service.

The concluding paragraph contains a

passage equally pernicious as any part of the order, and which first gave rise to the proceedings that have followed. The passage is as follows:

"The information before the Government, does not enable the Governor in "Council to distinguish, by the expression "of his approbation, all the troops of the "Company's service that have manifested "the same disposition (as those of his Majesty's service); but he deems it to be "proper to notice, on this occasion, the "satisfactory and exemplary conduct of the "part of the army composing the Hydrabad "subsidiary force."

Such is the order of the 1st of May; which, whatever be its intrinsic merits, has produced consequences that must ever be regretted by all who feel an interest in the welfare of Britain, but particularly by those who wish well to the establishment of the East India Company.

The terms of the order are so positive, and the punishment which it announces, is so severe and exemplary, that any disinterested person, upon the first perusal of the order, will take it for granted, that the facts alleged against each individual, were fully

proved, or at least that they were susceptible of proof. However, it was known to all, that no public inquiry whatever had taken place; that none of the parties had any opportunity of defending themselves against the informations that had been procured through the vilest channels; and to many it was known, that the allegations were not only without proof, but that they were scandalously unfounded and false.

On recovering from the shock which the publication of the order produced, people began to consider the circumstances of the case, which were universally known to the following extent:

On the 11th April, Captain Barlow, Aid-de-Camp to Sir G. Barlow, came to the Military Board office, with a summons for three young men, two of whom were employed in the office, and the third had been in the private employ of Captain Marshall, as Secretary to the Military Fund. These being seized by Captain Barlow, were taken to the Council Chamber, and examined, on oath, by Mr. Anstruther, the Company's Advocate, in presence of Sir G. Barlow, Mr. A. Falconar, Lieutenant Colonel Leith, and Captain Barlow. The

result of the examination of these persons was, that a paper addressed to the Governor General had been copied in the office of the Secretary of the Military Board, and two or three were taken from two drafts in the hand-writing of Lieutenant Colonel Martin and Captain J. Marshall, according to the belief of the deponents respectively. Various interrogations were made respecting the persons who visited Captain Marshall in the office, and the manner in which he conversed with them, whether in a public or retired part of the office, &c. (for Captain Marshall continued to do duty in the Military Board office until the 10th of March, although he had been officially removed from it by order, dated the 7th of February.) However, no information was obtained that could in any way corroborate, or add, to that which has been noticed. Yet, upon such information, have Lieutenant Colonel Martin and Captain Marshall been publicly vilified and stigmatized, in the public newspapers of Madras, Bengal, and Bombay. Neither of them has been allowed any opportunity of pleading against the accusation; Lieutenant Colonel Martin having sailed for England on the 1st of March, and Captain Marshall having

been seized at Vizagapatam,—sent on board the Asia Indiaman, for the purpose of being transported to Bengal, and, ultimately, to Europe. However, the hardships to which it was intended that Captain Marshall should be exposed, were increased by the wreck of the Asia in the river Hughley; on which occasion he lost the greatest part of the property which he had been able to collect at the time he was seized at Vizagapatam.

At the time that Captain Marshall's writers were seized, Lieutenant Colonel Barclay was employed in a service of the same description, which was executed in the following manner: Lieutenant Colonel Barclay proceeded in his curricle to the office of Mr. James Balfour on the beach, at a time of the day when Mr. Balfour was not there, and calling for a native writer, with whose name he had been previously furnished, he seized him, and carried him, in terror and astonishment as he was, in his curricle, to the Fort. On his arrival there, he delivered the terrified writer at the Council Chamber, which had, before this, acquired the more common title of the *Star Chamber*.

The examination of this poor fellow was conducted in the same manner as that

mentioned before; it produced information that Captain Coombs had procured copies of several documents, relative to the points of difference between General Macdowall and Sir George Barlow, and that he had also procured a copy of a paper, which was considered to be a summary statement of the various occurrences that had taken place during the altercation, which was carried on previous to the General's departure.

In order that the weight and importance of this information may be fully perceived, it will be proper to notice that Captain Coombs had been Aid-de-Camp to General Macdowall, and lived in his family. No attack had been openly made against the General's character until after his departure from Madras, consequently it was natural to suppose that this officer would arrive in England without the means of defending himself against the very serious charges that had been levelled against him, after his back was turned. Under this impression, Captain Coombs considered that he could not better manifest gratitude to his benefactor, than by supplying him with authentic copies of the correspondence, and other documents, which related to the occasion, that had been

taken to asperse and vilify his character. They were accordingly prepared and arranged by Captain Coombs, who drew out an abstract of the whole proceeding, with reference to the several documents, in the order in which they had originated; but, as it appeared to be important that this summary should be transmitted, with the least possible delay, Captain Coombs procured from Mr. James Balfour, who was an intimate friend, and a connection of General Macdowall, the services of a writer, who was the identical person in the seizure of whom Lieutenant Colonel Barclay acquitted himself in the manner above described. This is actually the head and front of Captain Coomb's crime, on account of which he has been ignominiously deprived of his staff situation.

The means by which information was procured against Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable A. Sentleger are not so publicly known; there is only one person in the character of an officer who has on this occasion been suspected of a breach of the ninth commandment of the Christian Decalogue; but as the public are not in posses-

sion of the circumstance, and as suspicions at the present period will doubtless arise, on slight grounds, it is considered to be improper to inculpate that individual. Certain it is, however, that some person has given a false evidence against his neighbour on this occasion, as it is incontestibly proved, by the declarations which Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger procured from almost every officer who had been under his command in the Travancore army, and also from Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, the English resident at the court of Travancore, who has not scrupled to say that Sir G. Barlow had been deceived by some infamous misrepresentation, or vile falsehood. It is to be hoped, for the sake of justice and honour, that the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger may arrive safe in England, and that, through the influence of his friends, and the justice of his cause, he may be enabled to vindicate his injured character, and to expose, to the indignation and contempt of his brother officers, and of his country, the vile instruments, and the base acts, which have been employed to conduct this scene of the tragedy.

The information respecting Lieutenant Colonels Chalmer and Cuppage, and Major de

Morgan, is nearly of the same description with that which regards Lieutenant Colonel Sentleger; and probably the sources of it, and the channels through which it has passed, may hereafter be fully developed, but at present it would be improper, and perhaps unfair, to indulge any speculations regarding it.

The case of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bell, of Artillery, who commanded the Mount Cantonments, and held a seat at the Military Board, is, however, very different. The vicinity of his residence to the Presidency afforded the best means of ascertaining the correctness, or otherwise, of the information which had been obtained respecting him, if such had been desired. But this transaction may, at a future period, be fully explained to the public; for the present, any further discussion of it is deferred, Colonel Bell having himself made an appeal to that source, whence the Government of India derive their authority. It may not, however, be irrelevant to notice, that, on the day after the order was received at the Mount, all the officers who had been stationed there, (one only excepted) drew up an address to Lieutenant Colonel

Robert Bell, in which they expressed, in the warmest terms, their regret at the loss which they were about to experience in his removal from the command of the station, and from their society. They also offer the most solemn declaration, that the charge contained in the general order of the 1st of May, against Colonel Bell, was wholly and entirely groundless. The exception amongst the officers to the signing of this paper was Sir John Sinclair, who had just been appointed Commissary of the Arsenal at Madras.

Colonel Bell conceiving that the Government might be desirous to be undeceived, in a matter of so much importance, would willingly have transmitted to them a copy of the declaration of the officers, together with an affidavit, or any other asseveration, from himself, purporting that he was wholly and unequivocally innocent, in thought, word, and deed, of the charge specified against him, in the general order of the 1st of May. However, this step was prevented, by his learning, through a third person, a Member of the Council, that the Government would resent, in the most severe manner, any attempt at the justification of himself by the transmission of the paper. And Colo-

nel Bell has been obliged to rest satisfied, with the consciousness of his own innocence, and to wait patiently for a decision from Europe, (which possibly may take place on the *ex parte* statement of Sir G. Barlow) or for a change of the Government, before he can hope for even a public investigation of the subject.

Such being the motive, and the ground upon which the punishments announced in the general order of the 1st of May had proceeded, it cannot be a matter of surprize, that universal indignation was felt on the occasion. However, such was the general feeling towards the Governor of Madras, that the compliment paid to the Hydrabad force, in the last paragraph of the order, was deemed a greater insult than even the punishment, and the defamation of the respectable characters who are vilified in it.

The receipt of the order at the several stations of the army, produced considerable solicitude and commotion; but at Hydrabad the ferment was excessive; one and all felt the keenest sense of injury and insult, from perceiving the paltry attempt to sow dissension among the officers of the army, by supposing a difference of feeling, and interest,

between men, whose characters and fortunes were united by the established system of the service, as well as by those ties which are, above all, dear to men of honor and principle. As might naturally be expected, a perfect unanimity prevailed among the officers at Hydrabad; who, as soon as practicable, after the receipt of the order, addressed to the different divisions of the army, a paper to the following effect; a copy of the same being also sent to the Governor of Madras, through the officer commanding the force.

"In the late general order by Government, under date the 1st of May, 1809, the conduct of the officers of this force, with respect to the late occurrences, is particularly mentioned in terms of approbation.

"This unexpected compliment may possibly have impressed our brother officers throughout the army, with an idea that we tacitly have approved of the acts of Government to which the general order refers, and that we are divested of those sentiments and feelings, which have been excited throughout the army.

"Under this impression, we feel it to be a duty incumbent on us to declare, that we have viewed, with the most lively emotions

of concern, the extreme acts of power, and exertions of authority, by which so many valuable and respectable officers have been displaced from their commands, and suspended from the service; and while we assure you of our resolution to contribute to the support of those officers who have incurred the displeasure of Government, for their exertions in a cause which we must pronounce *just*, we shall be ready to participate in any legal measures of temperance, dignity, and firmness, which may be thought effectual, to remove the cause of the present discontent, and to restore our brother officers to the honourable situations from which they have been removed.

[Signed by 145 field and other officers of the troops composing the Hydrabad Subsidiary Force.]

" *Hydrabad*, 14*th May*, 1809."

Were not the above facts susceptible of the most unequivocal proof, by the number of persons to whom the particulars regarding them are fully known, no indifferent person would believe, neither would any venture to assert, that the chief organ of a Government, so extensive as that of Madras, could, after

the errors already discovered, be deluded into so stupid, so unnecessary, and so irremediable a measure as this, which exposed the Government to the utmost contempt, by having its praises indignantly rejected, as insulting and injurious to the feelings of a great body of those who were subject to the authority of the Government. This occurrence may be considered to have completely dissolved the relation which should subsist between the rulers and the ruled, and it had its origin, as all the other unfortunate events have had, in the imprudent and injudicious councils which Sir G. H. Barlow unhappily followed. Among those about him, there was not one who possessed the confidence of any part of the officers of the army, or one, who, if acquainted with the actual state of the public mind, would run the risk of displeasing the Governor, and thereby perhaps losing his own situation by telling him the truth, when truth might be unpleasant to him. This, unfortunately, would have been too often the case, during the period that he has been at the head of the government of Madras.

The officers at Hydrabad, as it appears, acted without delay; but they did not act without reflection; and their reflections

informed them, that no situation or circumstances whatsoever, could give to Sir G. H. Barlow, or to any man, a right to proclaim to the world, in a public newspaper, that they had viewed recent public measures in a light different from that in which they had been viewed by their brother officers, particularly as the assertion was totally unfounded. This general order will, through the Madras newspapers, probably find quick circulation among the friends, the connections, and the enemies of the officers of the Madras army, in the various quarters of the world; and as it is calculated not only to represent the Hydrabad officers as differing from the rest of the army, but also implies the possibility, that the measures adopted by Sir G. Barlow, could be contemplated by any part of the officers, without exciting the greatest degree of indignation and resentment, it must be considered as a defamation of the body of the Madras officers, and as a misrepresentation of the circumstances then existing.

The general circulation of the famous order of the 1st of May, gave rise to an incident, which had considerable influence on the subsequent events, and therefore

deserves to be noticed. The Bombay troops had, during the last ten years, been much employed with those of the coast army; and the officers, consequently, had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the characters of several of the officers of the latter, more especially of those distinguished by command, by staff situations, or other circumstances, which give celebrity to individuals. They could not, therefore, be altogether insensible to the details that are set forth in the order of the 1st. Accordingly, when this order was exhibited to the view of the public, at their presidency, they deputed certain individuals from their body to address the officers of the Coast army, and a letter was sent to the principal stations, the substance of which was, "that the publications in the Bombay newspapers, of a general order, issued at Madras on the 1st of May, had excited, in the minds of the Bombay officers, the greatest surprise and disgust, as it mentioned the suspension of some of the best and most respectable officers of the Coast army."

"That, participating in the feelings of the Madras officers on this occasion, all were unanimous, and there was not a dissenting

voice in announcing the wish of the Bombay officers to afford every facility which might lay in their power, towards procuring redress against the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Governor of Madras and his advisers."

To those who may be disposed to form an impartial judgment on the subject, the conduct of the Bombay Officers is worthy of consideration: they were sufficiently near the scene of action to acquire a competent knowledge of the leading circumstances, and they were so totally distinct, as well in distance of situation, as in routine of duty, that they scarcely could be influenced by personal or local prejudices. The opinion which they formed may, therefore, be considered to be as free from partiality, or party feeling, as that which any community could form on a subject of this nature. If this conclusion be just, the unequivocal terms, in which the opinion of the Bombay officers is expressed, must have afforded to the officers at Hydrabad a considerable degree of satisfaction; inasmuch as it appeared fully to justify the decisive conduct which they had adopted, in repelling, with disgust, the praise which was offered to them, under

the presumption, that they had tacitly approved (because they had not publicly resented) the measures of Sir G. Barlow;—measures which have already produced very disagreeable consequences, and which, if pursued, may lead to disasters of the most serious nature to the officers of the Company's service, to the Company themselves, and to the vital interests of the mother State.

It is truly painful to contemplate the crisis to which the affairs of the Madras Government have been brought by this man. The officers of the most efficient part of the military establishment have been compelled to vindicate their feelings, by informing the Governor of Madras, that his praise of them was considered an insult, and could not be accepted.

The officers, with the troops that compose the principal garrison in the Northern division, have suspended the functions of their commandant, who had been sent as a sort of avowed spy over their conduct; and the officers of a separate establishment have publicly expressed their surprize and disgust at the oppressive conduct which has produced this phenomenon. Yet, with these

awful warnings, the same system of terror is pursued, and measures seem to be adopted to prevent any communication to the Governor General, which might inform him of the actual state of affairs, and might enable him, by the seasonable interposition of his authority, to prevent the calamities which seem to impend over this presidency. In vain have various occurrences happened, during the present enlightened period of history, which might have instructed the persons in power here, of the wisdom of that maxim obtaining in the politics of free states, that when those vested with authority are conscious of having adopted a bad cause, and when they perceive that the great body of those, whom they rule, will not be reconciled to a system that is founded on injustice, and unsupported by reason; in such a case, it is the practice of those rulers, according to every principle of patriotism and policy, to prevent the horrors of civil discord, to shew a seasonable condescension to the prevailing opinions of the great majority of those who are subject to their controul; but who, if they saw a palpable neglect of their interests, and a relentless perseverance in the system, which at once insults and injures

them, might abandon themselves to the sway of their personal feelings, and become totally indifferent to sentiments of public duty, and to consequences of the greatest general import.

That Sir G. Barlow, and his minions, were fully conscious of the impropriety of their conduct, with respect to Major Boles, is evident from various expedients to which they resorted from time to time, but chiefly from the overtures that were made to Major Boles through the channels of a member of council, and General Gowdie; the expedients which those characters adopted of declaring, that they were not instructed to make the proposal, is too shallow to deceive the most ignorant or inexperienced; it, in effect, produced a consequence, quite different from that which was intended; it was one of those awkward frauds which carry their own antidote along with them; and may very aptly be compared to the finesse adopted by a certain great character, now high in office, who, having occasion to discuss the subject of an interference on his part, which was highly improper, and highly criminal, commenced his explanation with, "By the sacred God, Sir, I never got a rupee by it."

He had not been accused of any sinister motive, neither would the idea of the possibility of his receiving a bribe have occurred, but for his unsolicited defence, which excited suspicion, and led to the positive discovery, that he had actually received a douceur of 5000 rupees. The declaration of the last-mentioned gentlemen, that they were not employed by Sir G. Barlow, appears to have been as unnecessary as the disavowal of the bribe was in the instance mentioned; and, like it, creates suspicion, and renders it, in fact, probable that Sir G. Barlow felt an emotion of compunction at the retrospect of the acts he had counselled.

In short, the blind perseverance in acts of error, and an unqualified support of the doctrines of a set of men, who have wormed themselves into confidence, by the basest means, have brought the affairs of this Government to the verge of ruin; for, although no open act of violence has yet taken place, there can be no doubt that matters may soon proceed to that extremity. Unhappily, their proceedings are so well calculated to produce that end, that it is no longer reasonable to entertain a hope of their failure, unless the private communications which

may reach Lord Minto, may induce him to interpose his personal authority, and, by his presence at Madras, to restore some degree of confidence to the sincere friends of established Government, administered with justice and equity.

The transactions at Masulipatam succeeded next in order to those which have been detailed; they shall accordingly be noticed in the next communication.

ADIEU!

LETTER V.*

Madras, 10th September, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

MY letters by the last dispatch will have prepared your mind for the reception of the accounts that I am about to give you. The discontents of the army are no longer expressed in angry declarations and memorials, but have shewn themselves

* The preceding letters are written, as the Reader must have observed, by the same correspondent. It is to be wished that the series had been complete, but they were originally written, it is necessary to remark, for the information of a gentleman at Calcutta, and have

in deeds, not to be doubted, or denied. As the discontents were general, as has been described to you in my previous correspondence, so the effects of them do not appear to have been confined to one station of the army.

At Masulipatam, Hydrabad, and Seringapatam, many direct acts of insubordination have occurred. The Government have, in consequence, had recourse to summary means, to suppress the prevailing spirit, and to reduce it within its proper boundary. Large forces of his Majesty's troops, joined by a part of the Native army, commanded by King's officers, have been sent to the Southward and Northward; and a detachment, consisting of troops of a like description, with the addition of the Mysore cavalry, have been ordered to march to Seringapatam. It will be necessary to observe, that before these extreme measures were pursued, the Government had the most un-

been since forwarded by him to this country. This will account for the series being interrupted at the interesting period, at which it closes. The remaining letter [No. 5.] is written by another hand, and must serve to fill up the chasm in the correspondence, which otherwise it would have been difficult to supply.

doubted proofs of the disaffection of the army at the principal stations. The first declared symptom of it was manifested at Masulipatam, in the month of June, in the arrest of Lieutenant Colonel Innes, who had been recently placed in the command of the European battalion, in the room of Lieutenant Colonel A. Taylor, who was supposed not to have been active enough in keeping under the rising spirit of discontent among his officers, which had discovered itself, as reported, on several occasions, at the mess of the regiment, in obnoxious toasts, and allusions to the acts of the Government. The cause of the arrest of Lieutenant Colonel Innes was, an attempt on his part to carry an order of the Government of Fort St. George into effect, directing the embarkation of one or more detachments of the European regiment, on board certain of his Majesty's ships, in the capacity of Marines. In communicating his orders to the regiment, Lieutenant Col. Innes, imprudently published the letter of the Adjutant General, accompanying them, and which was meant, it may be presumed, for his private perusal, as it conveyed a threat in the event of any irregularity on the part of the officers, that

the regiment should be dispersed, and the whole of the officers, with the exception of the general staff, would be placed on half-pay. On this circumstance being made known, a general agitation ensued, which seemed to threaten the personal safety of Lieutenant Colonel Innes, who was then preparing means to resist it by force, when Major Storey, the next officer in command, waited on Colonel Innes, and explained to him the sentiment of the corps, and expressed a wish that he would abandon, through an apprehension of the probable consequences, his meditated opposition, and requested, that he would be so good as to suspend the execution of the orders, until further explanation could be received from the Presidency. Lieutenant Colonel Innes refusing to comply with this request, was, at the recommendation of the officers present, put under arrest;—not, as it is said, out of personal disrespect, but under an impression, as before explained, that his person, otherwise, would not have been in safety, from an idea, generally entertained, that he was to be made the instrument of dispersing the corps, in order ultimately to reduce it. Major Storey took immediate

means of reporting to Government the necessity, in his mind, for having acted in the manner described. This original act of insubordination was followed by others equally strong. The fortress was immediately taken possession of by the European troops and the Native corps in the neighbourhood, and means prepared for defence. Communications, it must be understood, were constantly kept up at this time between the garrison and other great stations of the army, through the instrumentality of committees, regularly organised, and empowered to act for the whole. Colonel J. Malcolm, at this juncture, was sent, on a special mission, from the Government, to endeavour to produce submission in this branch of the army; but he was for some time denied admission into the garrison, and was at length obliged to return to Madras, without effecting the object he had in charge. The regiments in possession of Masulipatam refused to submit but on the condition of a general amnesty, which Colonel Malcolm was not authorised to grant. The only terms possessed by him were, that none of the members of the garrison should be punished but by the sentence of a court-martial. As this

would have left all the officers at the mercy of Government, at the moment when it was most offended, it is not strange that the proposal should have been rejected, as it offered nothing but what each of them would have been entitled to, even under the last and most unfavourable circumstances. After the dismissal of Colonel Malcolm, the regiments within the garrison meditated on a removal from Masulipatam to join the corps at Hydrabad. But they were persuaded to change these intentions, as it is said, by a communication from the officers of the last-mentioned station, or more probably by an order issued by Major General Pater, commanding the Northern division of the army.

Whilst these matters were passing at Masulipatam, the conduct of the officers of the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, was not less marked with offence towards the Government. This was not anticipated by the civil authorities, inasmuch as the officers on this station had refused, as the Government supposed, to join the other officers of the army in the intended memorial to the Governor General of India, which gave occasion, as I have before explained to you, to

the publication of the long order of Lord Minto, and on account of such supposed refusal, the Governor of Madras had thought fit to thank this part of the army in public orders. On the 15th of June, however, the officers of the subsidiary force, disdaining the compliment paid to them at the expense of their brother officers, forwarded an address to Sir G. Barlow, stating, that they participated in the general sentiments expressed by the officers of the army, in respect to the late transactions. It concluded with recommending an abrogation of the orders of the 1st of May. But a more positive act of disobedience was manifested on the 8th of July, in an absolute refusal of these officers to permit a battalion to be moved from the subsidiary force, though directly ordered by the Government. On the 21st of the same month, a further address was communicated to the Governor, through the officer commanding, repeating the former requisition, and moreover insisting on an indemnity to the officers of the garrison of Masulipatam. In this disposition of things, a test was framed by the Government, which was tendered to the officers generally of the Hon. Company's

service. This was accompanied by a circular letter, which gave great offence to the feelings of the army, who were required to subscribe the test, and was aggravated still further by the means which attended the subscription of the paper. In many instances, when officers were sent for to head-quarters to subscribe the test, their return to their corps was cut off by troops, drawn up with a view to intercept them. In others, the head-quarters were surrounded by a military force; and in one place particularly, at Trichinopoly, the officers who were desired to subscribe the test were not only hemmed in by the troops, but were afterwards marched to the main guard by an escort of Europeans; and, after remaining in confinement for the night, they were marched down in actual custody to Tanjore, whence they were suffered to proceed at liberty to some part of the coast between Sadras and Negapatam. The feelings of the officers, on these degrading acts, may be collected from the inclosed paper,* which is subscribed by the officers of all the corps, and is to be presented to Lord Minto, on his

* Appendix Q.

arrival at this Presidency; an event which is hourly expected.

But to proceed with the account of transactions in this quarter. On the 3d of August, Colonel Close, the late most respected Adjutant General of the army, arrived at the Resident's house at Hydrabad, having been ordered to that station by the Government, to take the temporary command of the subsidiary force. This seemed a well-advised measure of the Government, as it promised, through the influence and character of the newly-appointed commander, to reconcile the differences that had arisen. But, unfortunately, they were now at such a crisis that men could not recede, without the danger of supreme punishment, unless Colonel Close's mediation had been attended with a proposal of a general oblivion of what had passed. After an ineffectual endeavour to adjust misunderstandings, Colonel Close was obliged to relinquish his command; in which, indeed, to speak properly, he was never fairly inducted. Things were carried to so great a pass before this gentleman was sent to Hydrabad, that it was intended that the whole of this force should proceed to Madras, to seek a redress

of grievances by the force, or influence, of their appearance before its walls. A battalion was actually sent in advance, and the whole were to be joined in the march, as it is said, by the discontented part of the army at Masulipatam. But this scheme was abandoned, on a representation from the Resident at the court of the Nizam, that a large body of Mahratta horse was stationed on the frontier, and ready to rush into the Company's territories, and those of their allies, if the country should be deserted by the British force. This information, even at this juncture, and in the height of the irritation of the army, had more weight than the orders of Government, and determined them instantly to give up their own supposed interests in deference to the more important, and more valuable, interests of their country.

But the most violent, and the last measure has been resorted to and accomplished, in the vicinity of Seringapatam, where the troops, adhering to the Government, and the disaffected corps, have unhappily come in hostile contact with each other. The 8th and 15th regiment of Native Infantry, stationed at Chittledroog, had seized at the

end of the month of July, under the orders of the committee at Seringapatam, the Company's treasure at the former station; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the resident, and the officer commanding in Mysore, marched with these pecuniary resources towards the latter garrison, and had nearly terminated their march, without opposition. But, on the 6th of August, when they were at a small distance from Seringapatam, they were encountered by a detachment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Gibbs, consisting of European and Native infantry and cavalry, and a party of the Mysore horse; and, after a trifling shew of resistance, the battalions from Chitteldroog were routed. The Government order on the occasion, states these battalions to have been "entirely defeated and dispersed, and that nearly the whole of the rebel force was destroyed."* But in a subsequent account† it is mentioned, that a considerable number escaped into the garrison of Seringapatam. It is said, and generally believed, that these regiments would not

* Appendix R.

† Do. Order of Aug. 20th.

have made any resistance, if they had been aware that the force which suddenly opposed their march, belonged to the British army. The attack commenced on the part of the Mysore horse, and was resisted by the 8th and 15th battalions, until the European troops came up; when all resistance ceased, and the whole column endeavoured to gain the garrison; suffering themselves to be cut down by the cavalry, without any opposition. It is described, in the Government order, lately published, as an act of cowardice, arising out of a consciousness of the badness of the cause, whilst it is painted in other accounts as an act of devotion in the officers and men of the battalion of their persons and their lives, to a necessity which they could not resist, without wounding the bosoms of their countrymen, and their brethren in arms. On which side the truth exists, I cannot presume to decide. A sally, it appears, was made from the Fort, at the time that the general affair happened between the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Gibbs and the battalions from Chittledroog; but which did not succeed; the assailants were driven back by the Picquet, and a detachment from the 5th

regiment of Native cavalry, under the command of Captain Beane, of the 25th dragoons. This circumstance diverted the attention of Lieutenant Colonel Gibbs, and probably saved the Chittledroog detachment from annihilation. Some officers of the latter are wounded and taken prisoners, but I cannot procure any accurate statement of the casualties. Since these unhappy occurrences, it is believed, that no other hostile acts have taken place; and, on the 31st ultimo, we are told by a general order of Government, that the officers of Seringapatam have surrendered at discretion, and have been marched into the interior of Mysore. Some circumstances are said to have attended this last measure, marked by a severity, which it could scarcely be necessary to use, but which, at present, I do not feel myself sufficiently informed to relate.

Of the Hydrabad, or Masulipatam proceedings, no further accounts have been received, than a general rumour of their having submitted. But on the 7th instant, an order was issued by Government, directing that all corps moving without orders should be considered as in a state of rebellion; which would seem to infer, that at that date,

all was not considered by the Government, to be in a state of tranquillity.

I have given you a general statement of things as they have occured; and must refer you for more particular accounts of some of the events described to the official papers of government, which I have enclosed in a separate packet. You will have letters written by other hands, more full and circumstantial than mine, but probably not more authentic.

* * *

P.S. I just open my letter to add, that Lord Minto has arrived, and, in his courteous reception of certain inviduals here, who were somewhat under a cloud, opinions are entertained that his Lordship does not approve so wholly as was imagined of the strong acts of our local Government.

LETTER VI.

Extract of a Letter from Pondicherry, received by the Margaret.

September 23*d*, 1809.

YOU must have heard, by more direct communications, that more than four-fifths of the Company's officers, have been removed from their respective battalions, on their refusal to subscribe to a test submitted to them by Government. Their places have been supplied by King's officers. The test merely inferred, "that the officers (required to sign it) should obey the orders and support the authority of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George," no more than is expressed or implied in the commission of every officer. But the letter inclosing the test, and which was ordered to be read to the individual officers, who were required to receive it, contained insinuations, so pointed against the whole body of the army, that a general repugnance to subscribe it was felt and expressed, not only by those who were desired to subscribe the test, but by those appointed to administer it. The consequences you already know.

The recusant officers have been allowed to proceed to different parts of the coast. Many are at this place, and others at Sadras, and other places on the same line. The Sepoys have expressed, universally, a dislike to their new officers, and some even have refused to act until their former officers be restored.

An order of Government has been published, signifying to the Native troops, that their former commandants and subaltern officers, had been removed for disobedience or disaffection to the Government, but this did not seem to lessen the dislike of the troops to the measure. It was, however, persisted in, and carried into effect at Trichinopoly, Bangalore, Nundydroog, Travancore, and the whole centre division of the army. An attempt was also made to carry it into effect at Seringapatam, but it wholly failed, and terminated in the possession of the fortress by the officers, who were hostile to that measure. The King's troops were dismissed from the garrison; and the place was promptly occupied, and held by the insurgents. It was shortly afterwards invested by the troops of Mysore, and a detachment of King's troops, and communication of course

impeded with the surrounding country. Two battalions from Chittledroog endeavored to relieve it in the middle of August; but were in part cut off with the loss of nearly 200 men, and two officers killed and wounded: the rear-guard particularly suffered from the attack of the European and Mysore cavalry; they are reported to have made but a slight resistance.

Early in the last month, Colonel Close was sent to Hydrabad by the orders of Government, to take the command, and introduce the test at that station; but, after ineffectual attempts to take the charge, and administer the test, was obliged to withdraw. He addressed both officers and the Native troops in their turn, but was equally unsuccessful in both addresses; he was armed with full powers to negociate with the Native officers and men, to withdraw them, if practicable, from the influence of their officers, by all the temptations in the hands of authority to offer. But all apparently was vain, though it is said that the acts of subordinate agents were afterwards more successful, both here, and in other places. So much alarm, of late, has been excited by these practices, that a renewal of the fatal

scene, which happened at Vellore, has been every where dreaded. This, with other causes, and the expected arrival of Lord Minto, according to the proclamation of his Lordship at the end of July, induced the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, to send their submission to Madras, to be presented to Lord Minto, when he should arrive, and to express a readiness on the part of the officers, to sign the required test. This example operated on the minds of the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, who have also surrendered at discretion, and are marched into the interior, though the Sepoys had loudly clamoured for revenge for their late suffering, and "demanded to die at their posts in the defence of their officers." The officers at Masulipatam have also submitted, having first prevailed on the men, though the task was not easy, to accept the amnesty proclaimed by Government.

Since these acts have occurred, there has been an awful pause, and no one can conjecture what will be the ultimate event. This silence keeps many tender sentiments alive, in respect to the parties involved in these melancholy transactions. It is happy, however, that Lord Minto is at the Presidency

of Madras, where he arrived about a fortnight ago; and it is hoped, that his presence may be serviceable in healing the wounds, which the unaccountable severity of precedng acts had unfortunately opened. Heaven prosper so charitable an endeavour!

Though the preceding letters afford a full and circumstantial account of many important events, of which the public hitherto were but imperfectly informed, it is a matter of regret that some particulars are yet wanting, to render the detail complete. We are still without accounts of the actual loss of officers and men in the unhappy occurrence at Seringapatam, except the short order, published by Government on the 18th of August, shall be considered in such a light. We are also but slightly advised of the immediate means that led to the surrender of the disaffected corps at the last-mentioned station; but the fact seems to be indisputable. What is even more to be lamented, we have no other than an accidental rumour of a general submission and amnesty, with an exception, or extension, to three or four individuals, whose cases, it is said, are reserved

for the decision of the proper authorities in this country. We shall be happy to have all these desirable particulars confirmed, and to learn, on credible authority, that the power of the East India Company over their armies, as demi-officially announced, is increased and established by the close, or consummation of the disastrous events that have occurred, beyond the reach of human assault, or the hazard of future fortune.

There may be many who may not chuse to assent to all the propositions and conclusions founded on, or deduced from the facts stated in the preceding letters. The writers of them, being on the spot, where the transactions, of which they speak, were passing immediately under their eyes, and which they describe as fraught with universal interest, might reasonably be deemed, in their relations, but more especially in their course of reasoning, to be subject to a bias—an involuntary leaning to the one side or the other. They exhibit not, indeed, any ostentation of neutrality. But though this circumstance might lead us to distrust the deductions they should draw from facts, it would seem to dispose us to credit the facts themselves, so far as they are detailed.

For who are so well qualified to give us authentic narratives of circumstances, as they who are themselves eye-witnesses of them? The marks of the foregoing correspondence are the intrinsic marks of authenticity and truth apparent on the face of it: the fault, if it be thought that there be any discoverable about it, is the leaning, or inclination, of the writers respectively to the claims of the army. If it be not a species of gallantry, it is a sign, at least, of generosity and independence to adhere to an unsuccessful cause.

But the sensible and able writers of the foregoing letters, notwithstanding they are influenced by a visible predilection for the success of the army, are not blind, as it should seem, to the inherent defects of its pretensions, nor of the mode by which the attempt was made to advance them. They record with grief and reluctance—but they do record—the unfortunate and fatal extremities, into which an originally well-intentioned, and most honorable body of men were gradually provoked, and imperceptibly involved. They express a concern for their errors, but they do not endeavour to throw over them a justification or defence.

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We are not ashamed to feel and avow that we own somewhat of the same sentiment with these writers, springing, as we confess, from the same cause—a long intercourse with the Indian army, and a firm and unshaken conviction of its worth. Sincerely and deeply do we deplore the melancholy events that have closed their recent struggle. But melancholy though they be, and though they may be hastily, and inconsiderately condemned by those who have neither interest nor patience to investigate the circumstances attending them, or the causes that gave them birth, there is not a thinking mind, we speak with confidence, or a feeling heart within the kingdom, that can contemplate them without suggesting a palliation of the error which produced them, or returning a responsive sigh for the consequences likely to result from it.

A general cry has gone forth against the malcontents of the Coast army, sounded in a variety of tones—from the whisper of private insinuation, to the fulminating report of the Governor General in Council. The public ear has been stunned and wearied with never-ceasing accusations. It is now time that it should be opened to the

still voice of truth, which seeks not to pour into it any laboured or varnished story, but whose first and last declaration is, that it aims not at the perversion of justice, through nice subtleties and metaphysical reasonings, but claims an extenuation of the offence, which it candidly admits, from the provocations which promoted it.

He who shall cast his eye, however negligent and hasty may be the glance, over the first acts that gave rise to the discontents of the army, cannot withdraw it without an impression, that there was abundant food for complaint.

Not to dwell on minute and extreme matters, we would ask, Is it no circumstance of bitterness, that established emoluments should be taken from certain members of the army, not only without remuneration, but without the form of a previous and customary enquiry? that they should be taken from them on grounds which they were not permitted to controvert, and on the assertion of a junior officer, unconfirmed by any external authority whatsoever, whilst they were denied by a respectable part of the staff? Is it no injury to have the door of justice shut in the face of their solicitation, though couched in

the most respectful terms, and urged under the most direct and avowed responsibility? Is it no injury, whilst their own claims to justice are refused, to see the object of their pursuit walking at his ease, and at full liberty, and in the plenitude of power to molest them still further, in despite of their means to pursue him, and in contempt of the authority which they had been taught to reverence? Is it no mortification to look for ultimate redress where they have been wont to find it, and to be disappointed in the appeal? Is it no grievance to have the the source of promotion changed, from one who has an intimate knowledge of military merit and deserving, to another who is unacquainted even with the names that stand on the army list, and who is not to be approached but through the introduction and condescension of one in the meridian of grace, though in the dawn of service? Is it of no concern to them, to see officers of distinguished rank flying from their eminent stations, in disgust and loathing, giving the truest test of the sincerity of their sentiment, in the relinquishment of lucrative place, in the dearer consultation of their dignity and honor? Is it no grievance

that the chief of the army staff are deprived of their offices, and suspended from their station in the army, on the sole and avowed ground of their having paid an unqualified obedience to the orders of their Commander in Chief? Is it a matter foreign to the feelings of an officer, to perceive his brethren arbitrarily put beyond the pale of the army without enquiry, and without a hearing? Is it of no annoyance to them, in holding a commission, rendered insecure, not only by its being subject to be seized on some military impeachment or insinuation, but that it shall be exposed to suspension, at the whim or caprice of power, for alleged reasons, unconnected with military measures? Is it of no importance, that officers, having leave to quit the company's possessions, from infirmity or the urgency of their private affairs, should be detained in India against their will, from vain and capricious motives of men in power; and be dismissed at length, without explanation, to pursue their original destination; whilst others of high rank and character, should be hurried with ignominy, and almost under the degrading circumstances of felons, though without a verdict or judgment, beyond the

company's confines, and finally to England, contrary to their declared wishes, and in direct and express violation of their interests? If these things have happened, and none can seriously dispute the facts, have we occasion to look around us for reasons for the irritated feelings of the coast army? Some of the circumstances, embraced by these questions, may be partially controverted or qualified, but the greater part of them are admitted by the official documents of the local Government, though an endeavour is made to disguise them by a false glare of colouring, or to contravene them by sophisticated argument. A sufficient answer has been given, we apprehend, to these ingenious artifices, in the correspondence that has foregone.

The inflamed sensations of parties were further aggravated by matters, which, under other circumstances, would have passed unheeded. We shall not here pause to add any new article to the long catalogue of offence, which we have hastily ran over.

It hardly will be denied that there was not much irritable matter, lurking under the obnoxious acts enumerated, which, if it should at any time find vent, would produce the

most mischievous consequences. It was the duty, however, of individuals, it will be said, to smother their inward feelings, in dutiful respect to the constituted authorities above them. But there would appear a sort of correspondent duty on the side of those authorities, not to harass individual feelings unnecessarily, or to put them to trials, which they might not, from human infirmity, be able or sufficient to sustain. Though a soldier has to exercise and practice himself to submission and obedience, in controul of temper and passion, it is not to be assumed, because he has put on the uniform and the devotedness of his order, that he has therefore cast off the ordinary feelings of his nature. These may be outraged by uncommon incidents or aggravations, so as to overcome habits that long patience and professional principles have united to confirm. When the condition of the soldier is beheld in a liberal point of view, and in which it ought ever to be beheld, it would infer a species of cowardice in him, who should wantonly assail it. What a soul must that man have, who would irritate him to resentment, when the consequence of resentment, which in an indifferent person would be innocent, in him would be a crime?

But it is doubtless the business of a wise Government, to compass its strong measures, by means as mild and moderate, as the accomplishment of the ends will admit. The wisdom of such a rule of action has all the authority of a political maxim, established on the practice of legislators of all ages and of all countries. On the other hand, it is a sign of mental weakness, and depravity of a meaner sort, to enforce a violent act, by violent and offenesive means. Such a conduct, while it overlooks the nature of man, treats his best sensibilities with contempt, and displays, in the act of authority, all the littleness, and the groveling and the debasing qualities of private and humorous spleen. If there be anything more likely than another to stir men's passions, and to betray them out of their course, it is the wild and unrestrained exercise of power. For, when the humiliating weaknesses of individuals are discovered in the sacred organ of Government, which should be supposed free and untouched by such infirmity, it loses the best homage of respect; it approximates to the condition of ordinary beings, and it is not to be wondered, if men, having lost all respect for it, should forget what is

still due, from the essence of which it partakes.

But it is no justification, we are aware, of the officers of the coast army, to shew, that the head of the local Government had also his demerits or defects. Their offence is not to be done away by any supposed failing of another. It will be sufficient to assert once more, that no defence is attempted. But we may have the benefit of this observation, at least, from the circumstance, that if at this interval, the highest authority of the state could not keep itself aloof from the dominion of passion, that they who had less dignity and place to guard them from yielding to such an influence, may not be too harshly censured from falling into the same excess.

It would be useless, and it certainly would be painful to us, to recapitulate all the acts, succeeding one another in a train of necessary consequence, as described in the narratives, already in the possession and recollection of the reader, and which served to feed and keep alive the embers of discontent. It must, however, be noticed, that at the moment when the agitation of the army was most general, from the con-

tinued removal of officers from the service, without any of the forms of trial, the officers at the presidency were invited, in a sort of mockery of grace, to partake of the banquets at the Government palace. They were bid, and in some instances compelled as it were, to share in these splendid entertainments, whilst their hearts were breaking from the deprivations they were condemned to, by the hand which dictated the complimentary card of invitation. In insult of their best feelings, they were constrained to sit down with a man, on whom otherwise they would have disdained to look, who was the author, in their apprehension, of all their accumulated wrongs. Thus an ingenious contrivance was invented to pierce the heart and soul at the same moment, and to turn the blessings of providence, not into nourishment, but atrophy, or into a pabulam for the passions, that already fevered and consumed the frame. For not attending to this "feast of reason and the flow of soul," a promising band of youths were driven from their military studies, half-prosecuted and half-digested, to spread the liberal doctrine just communicated to them, far and wide through the army, whilst the veteran

was doomed, as it is related, but we cannot bring ourselves to credit the fact, to proceed over a wide track of country, from the coast of Coramandel to the opposite coast of Malabar, from Madras to Goa, before he had shaken off the fatigue, or had relieved himself of the expenses of a long previous march, and was sent undefended or untented, at the commencement of the Monsoon, against "the pelting of the pitiless storm." Other similar practices are mentioned, but these are sufficient for any breast not hardened or callous against human suffering.

No new contrivances were necessary to draw forth men's opinions, nor were any new means requisite to distend the chasm of disunion between the person at the head of the Government and the individual officers of the army. The measures of Government had the rare operation of turning every heart against it, and had, contrary to common experience, involved the authors and advisers of them, personally, in all the odium attached to the acts themselves. It is to be wished that, instead of pushing matters to extremes, and dwelling on the very verge of power, in nice calculation of its extent, a spirit of conciliation had been seasonably

manifested, so far as it might have been discovered, without the compromise of any leading principle of Government. Some may think that such a spirit might have been shewn, without prejudice to authority, in allowing the proceedings against the Quarter Master General to take their due course; or possibly, that this favourite might have been abandoned, even, at a more advanced period of discontent, when it had been unequivocally understood, that his ministry was odious, and could not be further continued with advantage to his country. If the opinion of the public should be allowed to have any influence on the administration of civil affairs, it should not be neglected or contemned, it should seem, in the military state. Popular clamour is sometimes delusive, but popular feeling is seldom agitated to any great degree without real and singular causes. It is always most desirable, that the love and affection of the subject should go hand in hand with his duty. Our history is not without instances, where Majesty itself has yielded, in the surrender of its immediate servants, in deference to the voice of the people. It could surely have been of little

reproach to a secondary or derivative Government to have profited by the example.

At the time to which we now allude, no circumstance of much acerbity had arisen to prevent an early and an easy accommodation of differences. The commandants of corps, it will be recollected, did not object, nor could they reasonably have objected, to the act of Government, that deprived them of their tent allowances, nor did they remonstrate on the manner, which was not very gracious, by which that measure was effected. Their complaint, so far as it had the most distant relation to the tent-contract, was bottomed on a part of the report of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, which was thought to be unfounded and calumnious, and which was regarded and treated as that gentleman's sole and undivided act. It is fit that this fact should be rightly and distinctly understood, as much misconception has been entertained of the origin of the discontents of the army, from want of information on this particular point. The abolition of the contract, it may be confidently said, formed no ingredient in the causes of the temporary disaffection towards the Government. The report alone was

supposed to be injurious and adverse to the interests of the army, and it was on that account resented. Whether a just or erroneous opinion was conceived of it, we are not now disposed to enquire. It is to be lamented, that the merits or demerits of this paper, and the matters connected with it, were not submitted to the determination of a forum, peculiarly fitted to decide on the subject; and when such decision, most probably, would have been the means of averting all the unfortunate occurrences that subsequently happened.

But the complaints of the Commandants of Corps were treated with disregard, and the right of constitutional appeal to the Court of Directors, was denied by the Government, by a positive refusal to transmit their Memorial, complaining of grievances, through the customary channel. This extraordinary proceeding was followed by the orders of the 31st of January and 1st of February. The suspension of the Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General greatly increased the discontent, as the principle, asserted in the act, was not partial but universal, and might be extended, at will, to every component part of the army.

What was the fate of these officers to-day, might be the fate of others on the morrow. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that a common party should be made, in a sense of common danger, with the officers newly suspended from the service. The suspension of an officer at any time, even under the most flagrant appearances, without affording him an opportunity of excusing or explaining his conduct, cannot but be regarded as a harsh and severe measure. It is an act of extreme Authority, and ought not therefore to be resorted to, but in seasons of peculiar danger, or in instances of rare and extraordinary offence. To condemn, and afterwards to hear, is the practice not of a defined and limited Government, but of unbounded and tyrannic power. But the exercise of such a right, in so remote a quarter of the world, admitting that such a right lawfully exists, as by analogy it is contended, and that it is wisely and politically exercised in the particular instance, is attended with aggravated circumstances, incident to local situation. It leaves the party suspended at a distance from his home, possibly without the means of support, or conveyance thither, or, if his means be small,

there is a chance of their being exhausted on the spot, or of being consumed in the purchase of a passage to Europe, so that he may be set down in a new world, without the power of seeking redress, where alone it is to be found, and where he is to endeavour to obtain it almost under insuperable disadvantages; whilst the avenues that approach it are fully in the possession of the enemy.

The frequent exercise of the assumed right of suspension, not only forced itself as a matter of general interest on the notice of men; but led them to inquire on what precise ground a power, so sweeping in its nature, and so intolerable in its application, fundamentally stood. It was found, on examination, to depend more on analogy, and nice reasoning, than on declared and defined principle. It is not asserted in the act of George the Second, or articles of war, framed for the government of the Company's Indian army, or in any other public instrument whence the Company's authority is derived, and to which the army might look for necessary information. But though it is not to be discovered in these sources, it is supposed, by those who

exercised the right, to reside in the original power delegated to the Company by the Legislature, to raise and maintain an army; which would seem of itself to infer, that all the necessary means, calculated to insure the objects of the grant, were at the same time intended, and by implication given. This would have been more clear to common capacities, if there had not been any laws or rules prescribed by the Legislature and his Majesty to the Company, for the maintenance and discipline of their armies, which appear in some sort to repel the implication, more especially as the *signa superioritatis* are reserved to his Majesty, in the privilege declared by the act, of framing the articles of war, to be established for the government of the Company's forces. Some jealousy might have been reasonably entertained as to the grant of so vast a power to a private body of men, and as it might by possibility be abused, and become detrimental to the King's subjects, this reservation probably was introduced. It is a power, it is to be observed, to be exercised by one description of his Majesty's subjects over another, without any communion with, or reference to, the Executive organ, or the

common laws of the realm. That it should, therefore, be subjected to some controul, or superintendance, and that it was meant to be so subjected, by the act of Geo. II. and the articles of war, is no very irrational supposition. It is true, that in the act and articles there is no provision for the dismissal of an officer, but by the sentence of a court-martial. So often as cashiering is mentioned in the articles of war, as often is it declared, that it is to be effected by the sentence of a court-martial, which would favour an inference, that so penal an act could not be carried into execution, on whatsoever account, unless under the sanction prescribed by the articles of war, in a like case. Yet cases might occur, where it would be desirable to use more immediate means for the discharge of a most dangerous individual. Such a prompt and sudden remedy is vested in his Majesty, in relation to his supreme command of the national force; and it has been therefore argued, by analogy, that the right of dismissal is inseparable from the supreme command of an army. But is there no difference in the two cases? The power vested in his Majesty is of the essence of the constitution, whereas that of the Company depends on particular

and peculiar laws, and must therefore be circumscribed and governed by them. The one is used at home, over subjects in allegiance—the other in a distant and foreign country, over fellow-subjects, who owe no allegiance, strictly speaking, but the duty of servants, yet still remain under the protection of the Crown. The course of reasoning, therefore, in the two instances, cannot be the same.

But if the right of dismissal is, by fair reasoning and necessary inference, in the executive body of the East India Company; if the right be contended for, on analogy, and parity of principle, it should be bounded by the same wise and discreet fence, which our most gracious Sovereign has voluntarily placed around it, when carried into practice. His Majesty has never, in our recollection, suffered this kingly prerogative to be exercised by other than royal hands; whence justice, tempered with mercy, is ever expected to emanate. What has been observed in respect to the right of dismissal of officers, with equal propriety applies to the act of suspension; which, as a minor, or moderated, employment of the same power, over the same subject, may be sup-

posed to be included in the greater authority. We are not disposed to consider too rigidly the right of the executive body of the East India Company to dismiss their military servants, or to narrow them in any of the necessary means for the government of their armies and extensive possessions. But, allowing them the utmost which they could themselves claim, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that any right given to them by the Legislature, for public purposes, and to the due exercise of which a responsibility attaches, can by them again be deputed to be exercised by others at a great distance, to whom the penalty of responsibility can scarcely reach, and over whom all present controul is absolutely impracticable. Such a preposterous position cannot, it is thought, be maintained on any common principle, or even on the anomaly of the constitution of the East India Company.

The suspension of the Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General of the army afforded an instance of as arbitrary a character as could possibly arise, and tended, accordingly, to raise a general sympathy and indignation through the army. Under the dominion of this mixed sentiment, the

officers, at the different stations, proposed a subscription for the support of one of the individuals, whose private fortune was not co-extensive with his Military Desert, and who had fallen, as they considered, a Martyr to a cause, in which all of them were equally interested. The subscription, it is almost unnecessary to state, was instantly filled. The paper, which was to convey the good intentions of the body of the army to the late Deputy-Adjutant General, was moulded into the form of a letter, subscribed by a long list of names, and displayed somewhat of the feeling, it may be supposed, in which the subscription had been dictated. The proceeding is thus particularly described, as it is stated to have given peculiar offence to the Government. It is certain, that several officers were afterwards suspended for having subscribed it.

The great feature of offence, if offence it were, was the combination of parties to supply an individual with pecuniary resources, which, among other purposes, might possibly be applied the recovery of his suspended rights. But the supply of money was an innocent, if not a commendable act, unless attended with some obnoxious extrin-

sic circumstance. Now the letter announcing the subscription was considered of this latter quality. The letter, however, was of a private nature, and was addressed personally to Major Boles, and not intended for general publication. It was not framed, therefore, for any purpose of defiance to Government, nor was it calculated to that end. It passed, however, by accident into the hands of the Governor, and was converted into a fresh reason, as has already been remarked, for the suspension of several other officers.

But the paper, under consideration, was only a consequence, and a remote consequence of the subscription, which must be regarded as the primary offence, if any such can be inferred. Subscriptions of a like character, it may be noticed, were not entire novelties in India. A very memorable one must be in the recollection of every military man, having many of the distinctive features which are recognisable in this subscription. It was raised on the behalf of an officer, who had been dismissed the Company's service, by an order from the Court of Directors, for alleged causes, that had been investigated, previously, by a

Court Martial, and of which the party had been acquitted. It was esteemed, as naturally it might, if not an arbitrary, at least a most rigorous proceeding;* and gave rise to a subscription, general throughout the army, to provide the dismissed officer, as in the case of Major Boles, with an annual amount, equal to the pay of which he had been deprived. This was not a private proceeding, but was countenanced by every field officer of the army, and was promoted, with a great deal of zeal, by the Commander in Chief for the time being. So that a precedent was not wanting to justify the measure itself, whatsoever may be objected to the manner in which it was brought about.

That there are passages in the letter, which might properly have been omitted, cannot be denied. Yet it is impossible that they will admit, without putting a violent and outrageous construction on them, of the harsh interpretation given to them by the Indian governments. If by any possibility it

* The Reader will be glad to learn, that this severe and unpopular act of the COURT of DIRECTORS was afterwards most judiciously rescinded, when its effect was known, by a voluntary and gracious recommendation of the Court itself, to the body of the Proprietors at large. Would that the liberal policy of this decision, had been recognised by their servants abroad!

can be supposed, that the last paragraph conveys the sense of a declaration of adherence to one another by the subscribing parties, the spirit of it, it must be understood, is confined to a particular case, of an officer suspended for obeying the orders of his Commander in Chief, and such could not be expected very often to occur. The adherence cannot be tortured to a greater extent—and the guilt of it, if any, must depend on the justice of the Act of Suspension, which is not to be taken as defined by the mere exercise of the act, but is to be declared by the decision it is afterwards to receive. The act is even now *sub-judice*, and may be affirmed or not by the power to which it is referred, as well by the Government itself, as by the parties suspended. The first blush of the paragraph shews an anxiety in the writer or writers of it, to make the bounty tendered agreeable to the object of it; by stating, that it is such a relief that ought to be accepted, and that is claimable under like circumstances, by every member of the army of his common brethren. It is scarcely possible to put another construction on it, unless it be taken in a most illiberal sense. It appears to be an effort and expression of delicate and refined benevolence; it might

have been made and uttered, perhaps, in a way less liable to exception. But the intent must be examined, and not merely the deed. It was not resorted to, as has been explained, as a weapon of annoyance to the Government or any other, but as an instrument of peace and comfort to an individual; not meditated as an act of public wrong, but an exertion of private good-will; a manifestation of a kindly attention to a comrade struck off from their society, and thrown helpless, without any acknowledged or investigated crime, on the charity of the wide world! The intention of rectitude will not be refused here, when it is willingly granted to those, who urge, with a boastful ostentation, daily subscriptions for suspected Patriots, who are smarting, horrible to relate! under the cruel and overwhelming pressure of the successive and unsparing verdicts of their country.

At the time that the letter to Major Boles was in circulation, it appears, that a memorial,* stating the aggregate grievances of the army, intended ultimately to be presented to the Supreme Government, was also submitted and proposed for general signature. Whether this paper might have

* Appendix I.

received the approbation of the great body of the army, or have been stayed in its progress by the expression of dissent on the part of numbers, to whom it might have been afterwards offered for signature, cannot now be ascertained. It was interrupted in its inchoate state, and no place of repentance was allowed between the time of the intent, and the proposed point for the execution of it.

This paper was put into the possession of the local Government in an imperfect form, and without a single subscription appearing at the foot of it; and was forwarded in that condition to the supreme Government of India.

These acts, or half-perfected acts, occasioned, as has been intimated, the suspension of several officers from the service, and of many more from their staff and army appointments. As these removals, like the former, took place without any formal or known investigation, they served, of course, to swell the breath of discontent. The orders, directing these suspensions, were published on the 1st of May;* and state the causes, though not very distinctly, why the respective parties, the

* Appendix M.

objects of the orders, had been severally marked as examples to the army. But the facts, it will be kept in mind, out of which these causes were asserted to arise, were partially assumed by the Government; and which the persons whom they concerned were not permitted to question or deny.

These orders also, in a kind of gratuitous invective, arraign the conduct of General Macdowall, the late Commander in Chief, who had been deprived of that situation, before any acts to which these orders have reference, had been contemplated by the authors of them. Neither this nor other circumstances that occurred about this period, and which have been described, most particularly, in the preceding letters, abated the agitation which seemed to be felt throughout every part of the coast army. While the whole body was thus convulsed, it was not to be expected that any wise and temperate suggestion should proceed from any of its members; and, unfortunately, the condition of civil society, giving credit to the accounts in the correspondence, was in a state scarcely less irritated.—So that, instead of the one being a corrective, from social contact, of the inflamed disposition of the other, through the instrumentality of

advice and example, they administered only countenance to each other, in the description and comparison of their supposed wrongs.

Certain of the suspended officers, and more especially Major Boles and Colonel Martin, were refused, it may not be too much (at this day) to say, on idle pretences, to proceed to Europe, though they had respectfully requested leave to embark. They were afterwards allowed permission; nay, one of them was actually ordered to go circuitously to Europe, at a time, and in a way, not convenient to him, without any alteration in his condition, since the date of his request. It is to be remarked, that in the interval, Mr. Buchan, the Secretary to Government, had been dispatched to England, for the purpose, as it was generally believed in India, of affording an *ex-parte* statement of the differences that had arisen between the Government and the Army.

In this unfortunate posture of affairs, men freely expressed to each other their common injuries, and communed together, whenever they met, on the most advisable means of redressing them. It will create but little surprize, that these accidental

meetings led subsequently to regularly-appointed assemblies, and, as a natural consequence, from the inconvenience of discussing matters in extensive bodies to the formation of committees, entrusted with the direction of the affairs and interests of the body at large. This, however, is not a simple operation, and was not here the work of a single day. The danger of such a confederacy, in such a state of things, must have been foreseen by a Government, that did not entirely shut its eyes to surrounding events, or its heart to the effects, which were likely to result from them. The most striking incidents described in the narrative, happened between the months of January, 1809, and of July in the same year. Between these intermediate dates, it will be fit to inquire what the local Government had attempted, with a view to conciliate the minds of the discontented, or to convince them of their error. It need not be observed, that it is the duty of every well-constituted Government, to prevent the evil consequences of error, rather than to display its power in punishing it, when it has grown into actual offence. Now what was the preventive caution of the Madras Govern-

ment? What the means which it employed in this most delicate situation?

We are concerned to state, that it does not appear, from any thing that has come to our knowledge, that any shew even of conciliation was affected, or any measures of wisdom adopted, either to eradicate any erroneous opinions entertained, or to guard against the probable effects of them. All the reliance of the Government seemed to be rested on its power. Every act of grace was discarded from its policy. All its business was the fabrication of orders, expressive of its own strength, in the principle of its constitution, or of devising stratagems, indicative of its weakness in reducing the principle into action. Hence proceeded a variety of orders to the army, "full of sound and fury," and of acts, "signifying nothing."

The *brutum fulmen* against General Macdowall, after it was known that he was without the hearing of it,—though the orders of the Government were announced under the artillery of the Fort,—was not formed to claim the character of vigor, to which it unfortunately pretended, though it was accompanied by a command, at the

same moment, for the dismissal of the Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, for obedience to the authority of the repudiated Commander in Chief. The act of suspension of an officer of the latter rank, without the dull, cold, tedious, process of inquiry, was not considered to be singular enough, without giving him the company of his immediate staff. Cool deliberation and reflection, sanctioned by public opinion, might afterwards have advised, that the supposed injury of the Government might have been atoned by the punishment of the principal, without any visitation of the accessories, acting under the orders of their legitimate Head, and in a known course. Such counsellors, and such advice, were not likely to intrude on the visions of proud and inflated superiority. It was only necessary, in the prevailing system of action, to issue commands, and to exact and enforce obedience.

To the orders of the 31st January and 1st of February, were added the subsequent ones of the 1st of May.* We purposely pass over the mediate mandates, dismissing and dispersing a variety of officers from the Presidency, for the high crime and misde-

* Appendix M.

meanour of not privately admiring the society of the protegé of Government—Lieutenant Colonel Munro; as if the affections and courtesies of men were to be regulated by the tat of the drum. The last-mentioned orders, like the preceding, laid the defalcation in the duty of the army at the door of General Macdowall, who had been the cause, as it was insinuated, why any doubt was entertained of the supremacy of the civil Government, in military as well as general affairs;—a doubt that might have been the parent of the succeeding acts of insubordination, which these orders deprecated and punished. Happy had it been, if even at this date, though it had tardily presented itself, the idea had occurred, that as the guilt had been principally, nay, almost wholly assigned to the agency of the Commander in Chief, for the sake of the high example, the punishment might be confined to him. No; it was thought that the dignity of place was better consulted by adding a long list of names to the scroll of the proscribed.

It is difficult to view the conduct of the Government, just at this interval, without some compassion for its weakness.

Anxious to make a display of its greatness, it fell, as the correspondence shews, into the meanest arts for impressing it. Loth to discover any symptom of grace, at the commencement of the differences, it suspended, without any urgency, the Commander in Chief's staff; and when it perceived even that this measure produced a general disgust, instead of voluntarily repairing the apparent, or imagined injustice of the act, by a gracious restoration of the suspended officers to their former stations, it truckled and bargained with the only remaining gentleman on the spot, for the purchase of his restoration, at a price which he would not condescend to pay for it—the admission of a fault, of which he was unconscious. The reader will observe, that we are alluding to the coquetry, first of a Member of Council, and then of General Gowdie, in order to induce Major Boles to re-accept the office of Deputy Adjutant General, on the easy terms of an apology; which that very conscientious officer, though urged to it by numberless near and tender motives, had the magnanimity to disdain.

Beyond these orders, and some contrivances, not very remarkable for the

policy in which they originated, we have heard not of any active measures pursued to quell the rife spirit of discontent, or to obviate the ills that might possibly flow from it. On the devices, adopted on this occasion, we shall be excused from dwelling at any length. Though they were new, they are not very interesting; and though some of them were successful, the success does not seem to make amends for the sacrifice made of the principle in the means adopted for the attainment of it. The first of these was, the experiment (and how mortifying must have been the issue?) to ascertain how much the person of the Governor was held in disgust by the individual officers of the army. Hence proceeded the invitations, the rejected invitations, to the Government House, which men, rather than accept, abandoned eligible situations, lucrative employments, advantageous society — every thing but honorable sentiment—and exposed themselves, we blush to write it, to unhealthy and destructive climates, to comparative penury, and to the confinement of their own houses.

The next experiment, though somewhat later in point of time, was as complete

in its discovery, as the antecedent one, and perhaps equally as mortifying. This was made, through the medium of the test, directed to be administered to every officer in the army, which was the immediate cause of demonstrating, that the Governor, if possible, was as little regarded as the man. About 400 officers are said to have refused their subscription to the test, not so much, it is added, on account of the letter or spirit of the instrument, but the extreme obnoxious instructions with which it was accompanied, and of which every officer was duly informed, before he was desired to subscribe it. If it were the intention to obtain, generally, the signatures of officers to the test, which scarcely can be imagined, the manner of requiring it was the most clumsy, ungracious, and inefficient that could have been counselled. But we have not hitherto had the pleasure to observe one act of the Government blending any sign of grace, with the principle of authority.

There are one or two measures, indeed, that we shall take the liberty to mention here, which grew out of this unnatural state of things, though not exactly in the order of time in which we have hitherto con-

sidered events, but which must with justice be acknowledged, as having completely answered all the expectations of the head which planned and advised them; we refer to the stratagem of detaching the King's from the Company's officers, whom they had shewn more than a disposition to espouse, and to the various schemes practiced with particular corps, and through particular agency, by promises and bribes, to alienate the minds of the native soldiery, for a while at least, from their European officers. Of the prudence and wisdom of this latter act we forbear to speak at present, though it may be shortly adverted to hereafter.

Besides these remarkable and noticeable transactions, we are unadvised of any public measures that were embraced by the Madras Government, at this awful and eventful conjuncture. The supreme Government communicated, as it seems, during this anxious interval, with the local Government of Fort St. George, but made no effectual effort to assist it further, than by issuing long and laboured instruments, commending and confirming all the proceedings, without a single exception, of the subordinate Government.

It may be expected that some notice should be taken, in this place, of the celebrated letter of Lord Minto, under date the 27th of May, as it has been treated by some persons in India; and even in this country, as a composition of peculiar excellence, and most happily adapted, as it is said, to the time at which it was written. That the high character given to this production may not operate as a species of imposition on plain and incurious judgments, it may not be unseasonable to inquire into the intrinsic merits of it, in order to ascertain whether it be entitled or not to the reputation it has acquired.

The intent of this paper is ostentatiously declared, at the first opening, as the application of a "Restraint, or Check, to the Progress of Error," by the "Promulgation of sounder principles." It is written with the express design of discountenancing all deliberation in the army, and of rendering it subordinate and subservient to the will of the executive Government. It inculcates on principles, which we have no inclination to controvert, the most pure doctrine of passive obedience in general military contingencies, with certain modifications as applicable to particular cases. In an official

writing of this description, it is to be expected, that any statement of undefined principles, or any application of them to doubtful and questionable premises, should not find a place.

But it is to be remarked, that throughout this long and laboured paper, there is scarcely a solitary allegation that is not questionable, in point of fact, or any one deduction that is not more than questionable in point of reasoning. It sets out with a string of truisms, in respect to military combinations, so trite, that the merest military proficient could not be ignorant of them, though they are promulgated in the language of the noble author, for the information of the profession! It then proceeds to examine the acts of the Government of Fort St. George, as connected with the preceding transactions.

The first circumstance noticed in this extraordinary document, is an alleged memorial* of the officers of the Madras army; a paper which is every where considered, by Lord Minto, as an authentic and perfect instrument in all that it purports to be; whereas, at the commencement of the letter, it is described by his lordship, as a *proposed* memorial to the address of the Governor

* Appendix I.

General; and might, or might not, according to subsequent circumstances, have been completed and forwarded to that address. Until, however, it had come into the Governor General's hands, in that ripe form, and in that official way, it was not on any fair principle to be held in the light of a regular and formal document, so as to involve the writers of it in the responsibility attachable to it as an act fully executed. Any other consideration of it cuts off from those, who may have rashly meditated a deed which prudent council and reflection shews to be erroneous, the desirable opportunity of tracing back the first step towards crime.

Though the intended memorial cannot be a subject of commendation, it does not appear to be so offensively reprehensible, as it is stated by Lord Minto, nor is it replete with all those flagrant and mischievous principles, with which it is declared to abound. It is assumed in his Lordship's letter, to be the main aim of the memorial, to assert the right and privilege of the army, to cashier their Governors at will, whilst the whole tendency of the memorial, as it is called, is to endeavour to prevail on the Governor General, by the representation of many harsh

acts of the subordinate Government, to exercise the authority resident in him, and not foolishly supposed or pretended to be in them, to rescue the army from similar occurrences, injurious to the State, and hurtful, as represented, to the universal feeling. It is intreated that this may be done by relieving them from the controul of their present ruler; but the memorial presumes not to dictate in what manner it should be executed; whether by suspending the whole authority of the inferior Government, or restraining it within its ordinary bounds, so that it could no longer press on the affairs and general business of the army. It is no where suggested that the army had any inclination, much less any right, to redress their own detailed injuries. But, on the contrary, the whole bearing of the memorial tends to seek redresss, we wish to say nothing of the language in which it is sought, at the hands of the Governor General, and through the medium, for it could not otherwise be attained, of the very Government of Madras. Where, then, are we to look for the dangerous doctrine that the Governor General has conjured up to terrify himself and others? unless it may be thought to lurk

under the expression, broadly intimated, of an intent of the best part of the army to resign a service, rendered intolerable and disgusting.

This paper is again misinterpreted, when it is stated, as in the Governor General's letter, that it claims a further right and privilege, on the part of the army, of having a representative in council. But where is such a claim set up? Certainly not in the memorial; and therefore all the learned argument, built on this assumption, all the illustration of the military condition by many beautiful allusions to maxims borrowed from the civil constitution, tumble headlong to the ground. There is a profusion of good writing, and good principle; but it is out of place.

A general concern is expressed in the memorial—but this is all—that the army have not a representative, as it is described, perhaps not very accurately, in the Council of Fort St. George,—as for some years, previously, they had,—to which circumstance is imputed a great part of the grievances of which they complain. If a military counsellor had been present at the public consultations, it is imagined, from his know-

ledge of military practice and feeling, that many of the grounds of complaint would not have arisen, and which at length had made it necessary, as it is added, for the memorialists to implore the "gracious interposition of the Governor General in Council." The appeal is made here, as in the former instance, not to any fanciful right in themselves, as again misrepresented, but to the actual authority of the controuling, or Supreme Government. Why are all these fearful phantoms created, except to show the power of the mighty magic that can lay them?

To the secondary grievances, stated in the memorial, the letter next refers, and which are described to have arisen out of the release of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles.

The first is alleged to be an "act of grace," and some wonder is expressed that such an act should have occasioned any thing but good will. But if it be an act of grace, it is of a very novel hue, unless the phrase shall be taken to have simple reference to Lieutenant Colonel Munro; there can be no doubt either of the intent or

operation of the act to that individual. It was but too plain to the army to observe, that this was a studied compliment to him. But what was an act of grace to Colonel Munro, was an insult to the feeling and understanding of the general body of the army. Why scoff them, therefore, with such terms at the very time that the door of justice is rudely closed in their face? While the fancied wrongs of the one are promptly remedied, the injuries of the other, loudly, but decorously preferred, are dismissed uninvestigated?

That specious distinctions were made in the two cases, is allowed: but, in despite of all subtilties, it is plain, that the question was with Colonel Munro, and the Commandants of Corps, and not between the former and General Macdowall, as Commander in Chief, to whom it is shifted in the letter of the Governor General. Nor was the matter entangled, as is also ingeniously inferred, with any fine-spun niceties respecting the power of a subsequent Commander in Chief over the acts of his predecessor: nor was any difficulty presented by the circumstance of the report out of which the charges arose, having been

approved by a preceding Commander in Chief—or if it had been approved by one hundred like authorities. All these considerations are foreign to the purpose, though they are all pressed in the letter, with much anxiety, as if they were strictly in reference to the subject—and numberless shewey arguments are drawn, adapted to the petitioned premises, but not apposite to fact as they stood. The report, it is fair to conclude, was taken, when it was originally delivered in, to be true in all its tenour; but if it were not so, in point of fact, it could not become so by any subsequent approbation proceeding from any source however high, or howsoever often confirmed. If such report, in any of its statements, worked an injustice to any individual or body, it was his and their right, the moment such injustice was felt, to complain and to be heard, so that the complaint was made through the proper channel. The authorities who adopted the report, approved it only in so much as it was conceived to be correct, and as it appeared to hold out a just opportunity for an œconomical arrangement. They viewed it in no other light than as an ex-parte statement—and, as such, liable to

be arraigned, if it interfered with, or infringed upon, any private interest. An accredited officer, it may be admitted, and, on the reasoning of Lord Minto's letter, is protected, in all his measures within the scope of his employment; but it cannot be denied, in the resulting conclusion, that if he exceed, and step out of the boundary of his commission, wantonly to inflict an injury, that he must answer for it to the offended laws of his country. The authorities, under which he acted, are not disgraced by his responsibility; for they had no share in his offence. They desired legitimate proceedings; if they be otherwise, it is not their reproach. Nothing is decided here, God forbid! in respect to the conduct of Colonel Munro—but a general principle only is laid down. It is contended that, as certain charges were alleged against that gentleman, by certain avowed prosecutors, preferred in the usual manner, and in prescribed time, and to a competent tribunal, peculiarly appointed by law to take cognizance of the offence embraced by the charges, that no power could lawfully take him without the hands of that tribunal, until he should have been duly delivered of the charges. It was

competent to Colonel Munro, of course, to urge all or any of the matters stated, referring to his official relation, either in justification or excuse; and it would be injustice to the military court to suppose, that it would deny him the advantage arising from any exculpatory evidence. But it is absurd to conclude, that he should commit a possible offence, without any possible punishment. The constitution knows not but of one, who is superior to all question; we have never, till this instance, heard of the same exemption having been arrogated by any other.

All that is insisted on in the memorial, is, that Colonel Munro was not above the law—whether it could reach him in the particular charged, was a mattter to be determined—it has never yet been determined. All the argument in the letter of the Governor General will not overturn, in our humble opinion, the simple statement of the fact, to which we have almost wholly confined ourselves.

Lord Minto, having defended the Government of Madras, for the unprecedented act of the liberation of Colonel Munro from his arrest, criticises, in the most

free, and, it may also be said, the most indecent terms, the conduct of the late Commander in Chief, in having dared to censure, in public orders, the minion of the local Government. At the time when his Lordship reprobates the act of General Macdowall, he was acquainted but with one of the grounds on which the General's censure was founded—the supposed and military appeal of Colonel Munro to the civil power. Neither his Lordship, nor any other party, could have known the particulars of the personal disrespect shewn by the Quarter Master General, to his immediate Commander in Chief, stated in the general orders of the 25th of January, as the primary and most striking feature of the offence. To pass, therefore, an indiscriminate sentence on General Macdowall, who had been unheard, and whose conduct had not been sufficiently understood, gave a practical gloss to the transactions on which his Lordship was commenting, and which the army, at least, imagined to be governed by a narrow and party spirit. Of the order itself, little need be said—but that it was supposed by Lord Minto, as well as Sir G. Barlow, to have a tendency to implicate, in an indirect course,

the act of Government, as connected with the release of Colonel Munro. But the General is not to be condemned for aiming at his victim, merely because the shadow of power chanced to rest upon it. Not intending here to enter on the defence of the General, we shall advert briefly to the effect of the order, when published; which was, the suspension of the Adjutant, and Deputy Adjutant General, from their respective offices, and from their rank in the service; and for the avowed and sole cause, of their having given publicity to the order of the Commander in Chief. To the exercise of this power by the Government of Madras, the letter subsequently refers, and considers and approves it in unqualified terms.

It seems somewhat curious, as the letter of Lord Minto appears to have been written with the direct intent of restraining all deliberative propensities in the army, that the suspension of these officers should be defended on the ground that they did *not* deliberate as, it is argued, they ought. It is generously admitted in the letter, that subordinate officers, generally speaking, are obliged to obey the orders of their superiors, without presuming to question them. But

then the rule is liable to a certain relaxation; and the exception is, that they are not obliged to shew obedience to an illegal order; of which description the order under consideration is alleged to be.

But why is the order supposed to be illegal? Not certainly from the source whence it flowed. It is admitted that General Macdowall, at the instant, was in possession of the office of Commander in Chief. But it is said, that the illegality lay in the body of the orders. It was plain to see, as the letter argues, that Government was tacitly reprimanded in the reprimand overtly given to Colonel Munro. But it requires more sagacity than we are possessed of, to espy this purpose in the order taken by itself. But it seems, if we may credit the letter of the Governor General, that there had been a direful misunderstanding between the Government and General Macdowall, and that many sharp retorts had passed between them; or, in the words of the letter, "that there was a warm and "vehement discussion between the Com-"mander in Chief and the Government." And it is stated, that it was impossible that these things should have been unknown to

the General's Staff—and thence it is concluded, that they should have refused the direct order of the Commander in Chief. Now, what is all this but ascribing to men a knowledge of facts, of which they might have been utterly uninformed, and claiming a right to punish them for their ignorance? Nay, further, if this passage in the letter means any thing, it would convert the Adjutant and Deputy Adjutant General into Judges of the warm discussions of the Government and Commander in Chief, to decide not only who was wrong—but to debate on all their public acts, in order to ascertain whether they were tinged or not by the spirit of their private feuds. This would seem rather a novel way of supporting authority, or of carrying on the concerns of an army. But this is seriously insisted on at the time, when obedience and non-resistance is preached to the orders of superiors!

Never, we believe, was mixed together such a strange compound, of what is right in principle, and erroneous in application. We subscribe most readily to the recognized doctrine, that men are not obliged to obey an illegal order. But we should be very tender

in carrying this doctrine into the camp; lest we might involve military men in difficulties, where they have not many, or very ready means of extricating themselves. If the orders in question were to be taken as a precedent, it would require not a little nicety, or special pleading, in the examination of the commands of superiors. The time for action would be consumed in deliberation on the import of the orders received, and all the circumstances related with them. If we have any just conception of the real extent of the rule, we should deem it to be narrow indeed, and it has become fit that it should be defined and well understood. The illegality of an order, as we consider it, must be collected not from the letter or phraseology of an order, but from the *thing* commanded to be done. If that be plainly and manifestly illegal to common capacities and understandings, the order ought not to be complied with. For the sake of illustration—if a soldier were ordered by his officer to fire on a quiet, peaceable, and unoffending citizen in the street—it would seem to require no great intellect to understand that he ought not to obey the command—or, if he were directed to rob a house, if such a

direction could be supposed to be given—In cases like these, disobedience would not only be excusable, but commendable; but we can hardly think, in cases less clear and perspicuous, that any subordinate military agent would be justified in disputing the authority of his principal To argue that an inferior officer should look into the construction and recondite meaning of every sentence in an order given to him to execute and consider all its bearings, with his knowledge of supposed circumstances having reference to it, seems a bold undertaking, and not hitherto to have occurred to any man in the possession of ordinary sense.

As the address to Major Boles has been noticed in an earlier place, and the nature of it considered at some length, we shall not resume the subject, though it is one of the leading topics in the Governor General's letter. What we have before said, will be a sufficient answer on this head; and we are anxious to dismiss the paper before us.

Whilst the two Governments, instead of pursuing measures suitable to the ends of their avowed policy, and calculated to inspire a prompt submission to their behests, were busily employed in arguing with the

passions, and writing and beating down, as they supposed, the pretensions of their discontented military servants, the latter were allowed to brood over their original grievances, till they were habituated to the employment, and which derived a fresh interest every day by the occurrence of new incidents. If the mind grew frantic at last, by ruminating without interruption on the accumulation of real or imaginary evils, it will not be viewed, we are certain, either by the philosopher or statesman, among the number of supernatural effects.

We are constrained to remark, that the conduct of the discontented, at the close of the month of July, underwent a most material change. It was no longer distinguishable, as heretofore, for passive obedience, but impatience of all controul. It became offensive to Government, by demanding a revocation of its acts, and at last, in defying its authority. They who know how easy and imperceptibleare the transitions from one extreme of passion to the other, will not be surprized at the quick succession or order of their events, according to the different degrees of irritation. However we may be grieved in recording the fact, we shall not

attempt to deny that, in the sequel, the majority of the officers on the establishment were involved in a most unquestionable state of mutiny. The unhappy excesses into which they were successively hurried, we should have no pleasure in retracing, nor would the reader take any delight, we are assured, in re-perusing them. We shall be more readily excused in passing over them as speedily as we can, since they are truly and circumstantially set forth in the foregoing pages, with their immediate causes, and eventual effects. Though a justification cannot be offered for them, they are not, as we must contend, wholly without apology. The provocation, as has been explained, was neither simple nor light; nor were the ultimate steps retorted to, for the redress of their wrongs, though most indefensible in themselves, attended by any ferocious or daring incidents, or directed with any other aspect than the remedy of their supposed injuries. It does not escape us, that the greatest possible offence of a military nature, is that which is now under our consideration. The framers of the military code, seeing how men, acting generally in a body, may inadvertently fall into this heinous

crime under the impulse of passion, unless restrained by checks always present to them, have exhibited peculiar pains to guard against the completion of the offence, by declaring it to be a crime of no secondary quality, in any officer who does not do his utmost to prevent it. To what moral consideration then is the conduct of those liable, who assume the full exercise of military supremacy, and consequent responsibility, if they neglect to repress acts having a manifest tendency to insubordination, by the seasonable introduction of the strong arm of power, but stimulate to further excesses by paltry and petty provocations? If the natural checks were wanting here, that were intended ever to be present, and if, from the absence of these, crime has been permitted, which might not otherwise have been consummated, it may amount, by no forced construction, to a partial extenuation of the offence. But if, in addition to this, the temptation to the offence was as strong, as the preventions against the commission of it were weak, the apology for it would become in proportion less difficult and fastidious.

They who consider the grievances, singly and separately, under which the

coast army conceived itself to labour, may be unable to descry any one grievance of sufficient magnitude to threaten the awful events which have ensued. But a succession of trivial injuries, as they seem to evince a fixed temper of injustice, so they seldom fail to stir up a resentment and resistance, in which the intrinsic merit of every individual act is lost in the sum of the whole accumulative account. If insult, too, accompany the most insignificant act; it gives to it a distinct feature, and lends a frown to it almost challenging defiance. They who have concluded, from what they have yet known of the late transactions on the coast of Coromandel, that no adequate causes existed for the occurrences that have unfortunately taken place, may perchance forego a part at least of their previous opinion, on a re-examination of the events as they arose.

It is deeply to be lamented, that the reiterated complaints arising out of the detailed grievances of the army, were either miserably misunderstood, or the probable consequences of them much underrated. or misconceived by the Governor General of India: or it would seem that it should have

been among the first measures of his policy, to have introduced the presence of the supreme authority in the seat of disaffection. The crisis of the times was difficult, important, and sufficiently knotty to demand this extraordinary interposition. There were causes enough of dissatisfaction. The cries of complaint were loud enough to have roused almost the dead. But the Governor General did not awake from his trance until the flood of discontent had rolled from the coast with a stormy violence into the many mouths of the Ganges. Of the value of a sage, temperate, and respected Mediator, at a tempestuous moment like the present, to compose the swelling surge, no one can form perhaps too high, or too favourable an estimate.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat:
Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet. VIRG.

Alas! no mediator was here, until the waves had exhausted their fury, and had sunk fatigued into a calm.

Lord Minto left not his courted retreat at

Calcutta, until the 6th of August, and arrived at Madras about the 11th of the ensuing month; when the last deed had been perfected, had been signed in blood, and sealed with the lives of men. His Lordship reached Madras just in season to record, that the wisdom and energy of the Governor, his compeer, had been able to achieve the prudential ends of his policy, by restraining the violence, which his own councils had unhappily induced.

In describing the extremity of these fatal transactions, if any one hereafter shall have full materials, and possession of feelings suitable to the task, he will not forget to note that, however stirred by repeated wrongs, however stimulated by excessive provocations, however depressed into despondency, however raised into frenzy, that the misguided members of the army, though temporarily estranged from the person of their immediate head, never once lost sight of the great interests of their country. That if they had been equally intent on the accomplishment of their own purpose, as they were determined to protect the rights, at all hazards, peculiarly entrusted to their safeguard, such purpose would have been completely effected. For

what, at this juncture, could have been successfully opposed by the Government to the arms of the Hydrabad subsidiary force, aided by the whole of the Company's European troops and artillery, if it had marched at the time proposed to the walls of Madras? and from which course it was alone diverted by the call of the resident, not by the sway of any personal persuasion, but by the solemn representation and assurance of the public danger that would ensue. Forty thousand Mahratta cavalry were at this time hovering on the borders, and only waited for the signal, to pour immediately on the anticipated deserted districts.

He will not forget, if he shall write at a season when heat and party shall have subsided, to describe in the strain, not of eulogy, for the occasion unfortunately precludes it, but of plain and simple truth, the devotedness of the corps before the fortress of Seringapatam, where they suffered themselves, in ranks, to be mowed down by the devouring sword, in a spirit of indurance and of suffering, which, in another cause, might have claimed, and have been allowed, the virtue and the meed of martyrdom.

In the casual exculpatory observations

that we have offered on the behalf of the officers of the army, and the circumstances of extenuation that we have ventured to state, let it not be understood that weare generally advocating their cause; that we are attempting to justify acts that cannot admit of justification.

> ——— Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
> Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

It will not be over-looked, however, that in the prosecution of our subject, we have exhibited a shew, at least, of care to set some doctrines at rest, which, if received on the high authority promulgating them, would have a tendency to disturb that tranquillity which they proposed to secure. If we have not spoken more decisively of the offences of the orders, which have been admitted even by themselves, our conduct has been governed by authorities greater than our own. An amnesty is said to have been thrown over all transactions that are gone. May they be remembered no more, than as examples for future government—though the effects of them may be felt, when the precedents themselves shall be utterly forgotten.

Of the immediate consequences of these

lamentable events, we shall not be required to speak—they are fresh in the mind of the reader. Of more remote ones, it may be thought, that we should take some passing notice. These, however, though they may not lie immediately at hand, are yet at no great distance from us, and are, avowedly, so natural and so obvious, that we cannot be long delayed in our reflections upon them.

Among the latter may be reckoned, first, the impossibility of dependence, for a time at least, of the Government on the army—than which, in local circumstances, perhaps, a more extensive evil could not well be fancied.—Next, the disunion, on all occasions, when joint operations may be necessary, between the King's and Company's officers—and scarcely in a secondary degree, the separation of one description of officers on the same establishment from another, between whom a distinctive mark, which is scarcely to be obliterated, is now, for the first time, placed. And not among the last consequences is to be noted, the utter destruction of all tie and ancient reliance between the European officers and the Native soldiery—and of the latter with its officers. That these things must result,

it were almost impossible for the most bigotted to deny, or the most interested to doubt.

That events more destructive have not already ensued is more ascribable, we are obliged to say, to the forbearance of the army, than the prudence of the Government. The latter are not to be thanked, if we may give evidence to the accounts received, that the provinces entrusted to their keeping, are yet in their possession. They have been endangered beyond any former example, within our recollection, or reading. Did we say HAVE been endangered ? Alas ! the danger has not yet passed. It hangs tremblingly over us even now, and is suspended only by a hair. The wretched device which has been hatched in a fatal hour of policy, or rather of fatuity, to purchase the service of the Sepoy, which, if not commanded, was of no substantial worth, in contradistinction to his officer, has not only burst the bond between them asunder, but has made him an object of traffic—to be bought and sold for the purpose for which he may be required. His own Government has bought him ; now another may wish to purchase him on some

future occasion—and the best bidder will naturally have his services. When we reflect that four-fifths, and more, of our armies are composed of men of this description, need we do more than state the fact, to condemn the practice?

When it is recollected how many of our frontier garrisons in India are defended only by native troops, with a small, a comparatively small, proportion of European officers, how slight must be the terms of future tenure—how unequal the opposed powers to create a balance in conflicting and adverse contingencies—and how inadequate the security resulting from the emanation of the authority of the state through the medium of its officers? We shudder, as we pass even thus lightly over the possible effects. The task of looking at probable incidents, though in this general way, has become already so distressing, that we turn from it with disgust.

We have said sufficient, we would hope, to engage the attention of the proper authorities in this country, to the consequences that may, nay, that will, result, unless some timely means are used to prevent or to avert them. If his Majesty's Ministers, at this moment, are occupied by

matters of nearer concern, and of paramount importance; and heaven knows, at this most momentous and unprecedented crisis, that they have cares enough around them, without the pressure of distant incumbrances,—if they should not be able to lend the benefit of their councils to the crying and urgent necessities of our affairs in the East, it will be doubly incumbent on the Court of Directors, we should presume, to give them the most serious and grave consideration.

If their possessions be dear to them—if they have an interest in their preservation, we conjure them to watch, night and day, with a never-ceasing anxiety, over their trust. Let them take a fair and bold view of the dangers that impend, and apply every vigorous and honest mean within their power to repel them. They are a thinking body of men, and, we would conclude, without flattery, that they are also a wise association, when they undertake to think for themselves We trust they will not lend themselves up, unsuspectingly, at the awful moment of their affairs, to the advice of individuals, who, to speak no worse of them, have produced that melancholy crisis, which has filled

the whole country with consternation and dismay. Let them examine, comprehensively, the events which have happened with their own eyes, and we shall look with confidence to such decision, as the necessity of things requires.

None of the calamities that have happened can be ascribed, with fairness and with truth, to any mistaken proceeding of their own—except the removal of the Commander in Chief, from a seat in the council, may be viewed in that relation. But the surest and best amends have already been made for this unfortunate policy, in the revocation of its principle, and in the arrest of its effects. The Court of Directors, therefore, will feel their conduct free and unrestrained, in the full range of the inquiry, which we zealously recommend. Fortunate, indeed, it would have been, if the necessity of such an investigation had been obviated, by the exercise of a preventive caution in India, operating upon, and restraining the manifestation of, that early spirit, which, in its full growth, produced so many and such mighty mischiefs. If the shame and the reproach of these deeds could be now done away, what sacrifice too great, what

sum too large, for the accomplishment of so signal a service. Yet these might have been once purchased, Oh! that wisdom had intervened! at an easy and a small price. If an obnoxious, we will not say an offending, member and minister of the army, had been rendered up, not to the clamours of a military public, but to the course of military justice. How sincerely is it to be lamented, that the authority which should have consulted the popular feeling, was alone busied and delighted with the demonstration of extreme power, instead of using its true strength in moderate and temperate rule, sweetened by the ministry of grace.

If we have spoken with more freedom than may be supposed to become us, of great persons, and of dignified offices, our excuse is, that we were desirous that the eminence of station should not dazzle weak eyes, and so conceal the urgency of inquiry. If the times were more smooth, we should have been inclined to be more courteous.

It may be considered presumptuous and arrogant in us, to point out the line of policy which should be adopted in the diffi-

culty of our Indian affairs. One or two suggestions, however, we shall hazard, though it should chance to expose us to the severity of such a censure. It will be not among the last endeavours of the Court of Directors, to bring back men's minds, so far as it be practicable, to the state in which they stood, before extremities were resorted to. As a primary means of effecting this, we would seriously recommend, that all objects should be removed from the sight, that would be likely to excite a recollection of what has passed. In the first place, it would appear an obvious act of policy, to prevent the collision of the Company's corps, on the Madras establishment, with those of his Majesty, which have taken an active, striking, and, we will add, a meritorious part, in suppressing the late outrages. Any collision between the two services, under these relative circumstances, could not, we apprehend, be productive of much good, whilst it might keep fresh in the memory of both, what had better be consigned, and as speedily as may be, to the stream of oblivion. We will not bear it to be insinuated against us, while we are urging this suggestion, that we are throwing aside

instruments now they are no longer useful; or of creating a field and range for unshackled discontent. To release such minds, as are capable of these suspicions, from the anxieties consequent upon them, we must add, that when we advised the removal of these bodies, we intended that their places should be supplied, with an equal number of his Majesty's corps, brought from other parts of India, whence they might be easily forwarded, and not inconveniently interchanged. It would be needless to point out, that such a measure would reduce things as near as possible to their primitive situation, when no distinction, and no cause for it, had existed between the separate branches of the service.

We sincerely wish that so immediate a reparation could be made of other no less eminent evils. But it will demand more than individual wisdom to devise measures to heal the animosities which exist in the different members of the same body. It will be a work of some time and of much labour, we are afraid, of studied and of continued policy, to harmonize the distracted feelings of those who favoured separate courses of action in the late disputes; and

of those who found their safety in a neutralized demeanour. But it will be the master difficulty to restore the opinion which has been destroyed, in the division of interests, for the purposes of governing them in their separate conditions, between the native soldier and his European commander. Here is a diversified and perplexed duty, and surely a most imperious one, that cannot be executed but by the hand of Time, and by the concurrence of good fortune.

But, though no immediate means may be descried for the reconciliation of these jarring interests and passions, some effectual ones might be found for reconciling individuals to themselves. It would not appear any very arduous employment to discover the way for soothing and allaying the irritation of the army. It requires but to call into use the dictates of a natural and liberal policy. It is only to extend the principles of the amnesty, declared in India, to every individual involved in any of the stages or acts growing out of the late discontent.

It can be no great effort of magnanimity to restore those again to their rank and to their stations, who have been dis-

missed from them without a hearing, and without investigation, unless it shall have been carried on behind their backs, and have been supported by representations as partial as the proceeding itself. If there can be any reason for a momentary pause, it will arise, we are sure, from the impression, necessarily suggested by every liberal bosom, that some enquiry is due, as a matter of strict justice, to the injured feelings of those individuals, who have been hurried from India to this country; unheard, though not unjudged; whose punishment has foreran their trial; and whose injuries will not be redressed by the mere restitution of their offices. But, above all, it will be a wise exercise of discretion in the Court of Directors to reprobate, and to abolish, that baneful and odious practice, which is alone sufficient to account for all the ills that have happened, of disfranchising men of their rights, acquired by patient, and perhaps meritorious service, without allowing them the opportunity of protecting and defending their interests, or the privilege scarcely of complaint. So long, as this arbitrary principle shall obtain, it will require not the spirit of divination to foretel,

that so long will subsist, however it may be suppressed and masked for a time, an universal sentiment of disgust and abhorrence. It arises from a cause so thoroughly ingrafted in our nature, as to exceed the reach of human power to eradicate or correct it. It is against the essence of justice itself, as implanted by the hand of Providence in our hearts, and as evinced in all its ways and dispensations. Let not the pride of State forbid what it is the best interest of the State to grant. Let it not be imagined, because the mutiny itself has been subdued, that the spirit which engendered it is dead. Nor let those, to whom we are now addressing ourselves, believe, that a passion which we have described to be universal, has been confined to a local habitation. If the flame of discontent, by accident or other causes, hath only yet burst forth in one place, let them not flatter themselves that it has been quenched and extinguished in all; but rather fear,—for there is but too much cause for such an apprehension,—that it is only smothered for awhile, and may blaze forth, unexpectedly, with a fury, redoubled by the circumstances

of its suppression. Let them be wise in season, and from precept, and not wait for the instruction of further calamitous events. But in a disposition of grace and favor, let them lay down imaginary privileges or rights, which are not suited to the condition of things, or cannot be exercised without working extensive practical inconvenience, and, without endangering the very foundation of justice. There are none amongst the warmest advocates of this fanciful right of suspension, who can go the length of supporting it, in its full exercise, as in relation to the present acts. For, whatever power the legislature may be supposed to have given to the representative body of the East India company, it never could have intended, that it should have been deputed by them to any other, who might disband at its own will, and at its own caprice, without the shew and the form of any judicial proceeding, their best officers from the army, nay the whole extended circle of them, with a single dash of the pen. Let them renounce this suspicious and dangerous practice, and comfort themselves with this undoubted consolation, that what they may lose in power,

they will gain in reverence and respect. This act alone would call back men's duties and affections, were they estranged at a greater distance than they are. Such a willing offering to peace, would do more than a hundred examples of sanction and of vengeance. The hour may come, notwithstanding the present meridian height of our Eastern splendour, when every heart and hand may be required to secure even a safe possession. Let not any ungracious pertinacity dissever one from the other.

Let not any one represent these plain observations, as adverse to the interests, or disrespectful to the rights of the constituted body, to which they are principally addressed. They are not offered in the feeling of an enemy, but in the sentiment, and with the warning voice of a friend. If the style or manner of the address shall be deemed in some parts to be rude, the intent at all times, and in all places, will be seen, we trust, to be honest. The case in our view of it, appeared to be extreme, and desperate, and not to admit of any trifling palliatives, or more flattering digestives. It would, in our contemplation, have been an act of

dishonesty, to "skin and film the ulcerous part," and leave the Constitution to be wasted underneath, by secret and lurking corruption. We have boldly applied the bold treatment, which, in our mind, it seemed to demand, though the caustic burn, and the knife should wound.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the preceding pages have been in the press, letters have been received from India of so late a date as the 22d of October, which confirm the previous accounts of the amnesty granted to the parties involved in the late unhappy occurrences on the Coast of Coromandel, and describe the particular exceptions, which are more numerous than hitherto supposed, as well as the grounds on which they had been governed, in the application of the general rule. This act of grace was declared in a General Order of the Governor General of the 25th September.

The principle on which it proceeds may be best understood from the language of the order itself, in which Lord Minto thus expresses himself:

" The principle I have thought myself
" at liberty to adopt has been to limit the
" number of punishments, since impunity
" cannot be general; and to mitigate their
" degrees to the utmost extent of lenity, not
" entirely incompatible with the public
" good, and the indispensable demands of
" justice.

" In the execution of this principle, it
" has been necessary to make a small selec-
" tion from a great mass of delinquency, all
" subject in strictness to the penalties of the
" law; and that such a choice should nei-
" ther be capricious nor subject to the sus-
" picion of partiality, I have adopted general
" criterions, the principles of which are
" manifestly just, and the application of
" which to particular cases is subject to no
" difficulty.

" The first ground of selection is the
" commission of some overt act of rebellion
" or mutiny, such as seizing on fortresses,
" or public treasure; actual hostility against
" the troops of his Majesty, the Company,
" or its allies; quitting the station allotted
" to troops without orders, or the refusal to
" obey the orders of Government.

" This principle of selection would

" liberate a considerable proportion of the " army; but it would involve a much greater " number than it enters into my views to " exclude from pardon.

" It is necessary therefore to select " from the numerous class already described " a smaller number comprized within a " narrower head of distinction.

" That selection is to consist of the offi- " cers in command of stations, or bodies of " troops, commandants of corps and per- " sons peculiarly distinguished for a forward " and violent part in the most criminal acts " or proceedings of the army.

" The whole of this highly criminal " and peculiarly responsible, but not nu- " merous class, will most justly be sub- " mitted to a trial by Court Martial.

" But as the Courts Martial may of " necessity be bound to pass sentences of " greater severity than it is in contem- " plation to extend without distinction to " the whole number of those submitted to " trial, a more minute sub-division will yet " be made, and the officers in command of " garrisons, or considerable bodies of troops, " will be separated, on this ground of higher " responsibility, from the commandants of

" corps. The former will be subjected at " all events to trial; the latter will be " allowed the option of a trial, or dismissal " from the service.

" In order that no anxious uncertainty " may remain concerning the application of " these rules of selection to individual cases, " the names of all the officers intended for " punishment, are expressed in the following " list:"

Then follows the list of the officers included in the separate classes.

In the first are described those, who are to be absolutely tried by a Court Martial, and those appear to be

J. Bell, Lt-col. Artillery, commanding at Seringapatam.
John Doveton, Lt.-col. 8th reg. N. C. at Jaulna.
Joseph Storey, Major, 1st bat. 19th reg. N. I. Masulipatam.

In the second are contained the names of those, who have the option of abiding the event of a Court Martial or of dismissal from the service, which are as follow:

Robert Munro,	Lt.-col. 2d bat. 15th reg.	Seringapatam.
David C. Kenny,	Major, 2d bat. 19th reg.	Ditto.
T. F. De Haviland,	Capt. Engineers.	Ditto.
George Cadell,	do. 12th bat. N. I.	Ditto.
H. M'Intosh,	do. 1st bat. 8th reg.	Marched, wt. orders, from Chittledroog.
F. K. Aiskill,	do. 1st bat. 15th reg.	Marched, wt. orders, from Chittledroog.

A. Andrews, Captain European reg. Masulipatam.
James Paterson, do. 1st. bat. 11th reg. Samulcottah.
George Wahab, do. 1st bat. 21st reg. Chicacole.
James Sadler, do. 1st bat. 24th reg. Ellore.
J. L. Lushington, do. 4th Reg. cavalry, Jaulna.
A. M'Leod, do. 8th Reg. cavalry, Ditto.
G. Hopkinson, Capt.-lt. 1st bat. Art. Sen. Offr. Art. Jaulna.
G. W. Poignand, do. H. Art. Sen. Offr. of the Corps, Jaulna.
G. M. Gibson, Capt. 1st bat. 10th reg. Jaulna.
Thomas Pollock, do. 1st bat. 12th reg. Ditto.
Mathew Stewart, Major, 2d bat. 17th reg. Ditto
John Turner, Capt. 2d bat. 15th reg. Seringapatam.

The order then proceeds:

" It is with corresponding satisfaction " and joy, I have now to perform the more " grateful office of announcing to every " other officer, who has been involved in " any of the criminal proceedings of the " army, since the 1st of May, a general and " unqualified amnesty; to the benefit of " which those officers, who have hitherto " declined the test, will be admitted on their " signing that declaration.

" This amnesty is not granted in the nar- " row spirit of mere pardon. It is tendered " as an act of total and sincere oblivion; it " offers on the part of Government a full " restoration of confidence and esteem; and " it invites from those who are the object

"of it, not a sullen discharge of constrained "duty; but obedience which comes from "the heart, and the cheerful, animated ser- "vice of cordiality, affection, and zeal."

The time will not permit us to take any particular notice of this order, or to publish any other part of it, than the foregoing short extract. This, like the former memorable order of Lord Minto, is tediously long and garrulous, though it contains some good and salutary doctrines, strongly interwoven, as in the prior instance, with many remarks, much out of time and place. Several topics are comprehended in it, which true policy would have left untouched. While the amnesty to the great body of the offenders is announced to be attended with a general oblivion, observations are unfortunately introduced in the same breath, tending to awaken and stimulate feelings freshly allayed, and before they had time to cool. Harsh and unnecessary contrasts are made, as if there had been a perverse bias in the pen, to a course foreign to the pious purpose of the writer. There are some distinctions taken in the cases, excepted out of the general amnesty, which it would seem difficult to reconcile with the prin-

ciples on which the act is stated to proceed. On this and other points, if an opportunity be allowed, we may offer some future remark. We cannot at present forbear the observation, that the measure would appear more consonant to our humble notions of what is right, if it had stood on more simple ground, or if, indeed, it had been applied without exception and distinction of any kind, and certainly without any long reasoning on an act, which if it carried not a plain and perspicuous meaning on the surface of it, could not be improved by argument or oratory, though urged by the ingenuity, or enforced by the eloquence, of the Governor General of India.

If, in our present uncertainty, we may be indulged in the expression of a hope, it is, that the numbers embraced in the preceding list may be yet lessened, by a further exertion of mercy, and on the application of a party, who had no secondary share in the acts, that brought about the extreme events recorded in the foregoing pages. Such a hope springs not only out of our interests and wishes, but is founded on a report generally mentioned in the letters just received from Madras.

It is with regret that we notice any thing which may disturb the satisfactory conclusions drawn in the order of Lord Minto, and adopted by the public, of the entire suppression of the discontents of the Madras army; but we think it our duty to add, though we hope that the information may prove erroneous, that private intelligence suggests, that the subsidiary force at Jaulnah, had manifested a disposition to resist the orders of Government, for the arrest of the officers attached to that division of the army. With pain we have also to remark, that a part of the ill effects, anticipated by us in an earlier place, has been already realized, and that two trials by Court Martial had taken place, arising out of the temper, generated among different members of the same service, by the different parts which they took in the late disputes. We fervently wish that these may be the last!

March 14th, 1810.

APPENDIX.

Memorial from the Officers commanding Native Corps upon the Establishment of Fort St. George, to the Hon. Court of Directors of the Hon. East India Company, &c. Sheweth,

1. That we, the undersigned memorialists, officers commanding native corps upon the Madras Establishment, have the honour, with all deference and respect, to solicit the attention of your honourable Court, to the subject of our appeal, which we, with the utmost duty and submission, offer to your consideration.

2. Your memorialists beg to state, that Captain John Munro, of the European regiment on this establishment, and Quarter-Master-General of the army, delivered some months since to the Commander in Chief at Madras, certain proposals, bearing date 30th June, 1808, recommending the abolition of the Tent Contract, which, on the the 1st of July last, was taken from officers commanding native corps in your army at Madras.

3. Whether the Tent Contract, as consistent with the good of the public service, should or should not have continued to exist, is a subject your memorialists will not presume to trouble your honourable Court upon; but certain articles which the Quarter-Master-General has inserted in his proposals, as motives that prevailed with him for recommending the abolition of the Tent Contract, your memorialists have to observe, no less excited their surprize, than they did the feelings of poignant concern, in perceiving such dishonourable principles so unjustly attributed to them.

4. Your memorialists will here furnish the extracts from the Quarter-Master-General's proposals, on which they ground their complaints to your honourable Court:

" Six years experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the native army, has afforded means of forming a judgment relative to its advan-

tages and efficiency, which were not possessed by the persons who proposed its introduction; and an attentive examination of its operations, during that period of time, has suggested the following observations regarding it: By granting the same allowance in peace and war for the equipment of a Native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than in peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another; it makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service; and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties.

"By charging Commanding Officers of corps with extensive concerns, immediately affecting their private interests, is calculated, particularly in the field, to divert their attention and their pursuits from the discipline and management of their corps; objects that should furnish them with sufficient employment for the whole of their time.

(Signed) "JOHN MUNRO,
"Quarter Master General of the Army."

5. Your memorialists, with the justest sentiments of deference to your honourable Court, beg to state, that these articles unequivocally convey a most cruel and wanton insult, as well as an injurious aspersion (we all feel it) to officers who have faithfully served their country, many for nearly 30 years, some more, in affirming, that upon the experience and observation of six years, formed upon the judgment of practical effect, it appears, officers commanding Native corps have strong inducements, from interest, to neglect their most important duties, in order that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service.

6. Your memorialists conceive that these assertions, in their application with regard to time, and operation, with respect to effect, are no less than accusing them of having sacrificed the interests and security of the public service for a base purpose, and of having violated that trust which your honourable Court, which Government, and which the Commander in Chief, in certain confidence place in them. Your memorialists perceive in them also an insinuation of an utter dereliction of the pride of military spirit, in their having a wish, from pecuniary motives, not to be prepared to meet the enemies of their country.

7. Impressed with those painful sensations, which such serious imputations cannot fail to create, your memorialists, in several instances, without delay, and with all possible respect, separately

addressed themselves to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall, upon the subject of the Quarter-Master-General's allegations. His Excellency had the condescension to answer the several applications of appeal; but in a circular reply, observing in substance, that as he had not been consulted with regard to the abolition of the Tent Contract, he did not feel himself at liberty to interfere in any matter connected with the subject, upon individual application.

8. Your memorialists have to state to your honourable Court, that, in consequence of this notification, feeling the injury done them by the insinuations in the Quarter-Master-General's minute, they adopted the means of redress which appeared to them to be most consistent with their ideas of justice, and with the duty they owe to their superiors, submitted to their immediate principal, the Commander in Chief, the substance of their complaints, in the form of a military charge; but finding that this mode was considered by the Judge-Advocate-General to be irregular, or ineffectual towards the vindication of their injured feelings, they respectfully abide by that opinion for the present, and have solicited a suspension of the direct charge against the individual, while they appealed to the candour and justice of your honourable Court, trusting it may please them to order an investigation of the subject, as from an investigation alone can they hope for a removal of the disgraceful impressions which the insinuations in the Quarter-Master-General's proposals are calculated to produce, and which your memorialists in confidence beg to assure your honourable Court are equally unfounded in fact, as they are injurious to the characters of the officers of the Honourable Company's army.

9. Your memorialists have further to state to your honourable Court, that had the Quarter-Master-General promulgated his injurious insinuations, serious as they are, in his capacity of Captain in the European regiment, a conscious integrity might, from the repugnance your memorialists feels to complain, have treated them probably with a dignified silence, or with private dissuasive admonition; but, armed with the authority of the Quarter-Master-General of the army, your memorialists are of opinion, that they obtain a consequence and consideration, which it is apprehended by them, cannot fail to influence the public mind, not only in India, but in Europe; and create a belief, that a Quarter-Master-General could not possibly circulate such serious assertions, against a body of officers of that army of which he is Quarter-Master-General, without an existing just cause.

10. To remove such an impression, and to establish, upon incontrovertible testimony, that the officers commanding Native corps have faithfully fulfilled those duties which the public service expects and requires from them, are the primary objects which gave birth to that solicitude on the part of your memorialists, for an investigation. A secondary object is to stamp, with due effect, the nature of that offence in promulgating such serious and erroneous matter, so highly injurious to their characters as officers and gentlemen, as well as to the respectability of the Honourable Company's service in general.

11. Your memorialists anxiously hope, that when the magnitude of the subject of which they complain shall be taken into consideration by your honourable Court, it will fully appear to your judgment that they are not actuated in their appeal by any frivolous or unreasonably tenacious principles, or any object not strictly connected with that perfect moderation and temperate pursuit of justice, which your honourable Court in its wisdom and consideration, are ever disposed to attend to, with those who, under the feelings and firm persuasion of just complaint, claim your protection and support.

12. Your memorialists, through the medium of their immediate superior, his Excellency the Commander in Chief, Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall, transmit their memorial; and in relying upon that distinguished liberality and goodness which have invariably marked his attention to them, to give their cause that support which in his judgment it may deserve; they will, with every sentiment of profound respect and deference, submissively wait for, and obediently conform to such decision, as your honourable Court shall, in the justness of your wisdom, determine upon their cause.

Signed by thirty-two officers, Commanding Native Corps.

Madras, December 1808.

[This was rejected by Sir George Barlow, and returned to General Macdowall.]

TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

"Sir,—We, the under-mentioned officers, commanding Native corps upon this establishment, have the honour to forward the accompanying memorial, which we request you will lay before his Excellency the Commander in Chief, Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall, and which we have to solicit his Excellency will take such measures as to him may appear most suitable for the transmission of the same to the honourable Court of Directors.

"The Commander in Chief being already so well acquainted with the general and particular circumstances that gave rise to the immediate subject of appeal, it becomes wholly unnecessary on our part to enter into any further explanation for his Excellency's information.

"The long series of years which the Commander in Chief has served with the coast army, and that benign goodness with which he has invariably, both in public and private character, distinguished many of those who now appeal through his authority, under a period of painful concern, creates every confidence and hope that his Excellency will, as our immediate superior, condescend to honour our memorial with such assistance and support, as in his judgment the subject has claim to, and which, we are fully persuaded, cannot fail to give it the most impartial introduction to the attention of the honourable Court of Directors.

[Signed by thirty-two officers commanding Native corps.]

"Madras Establishment, Dec. 1808."

[B.]

GENERAL ORDERS—BY THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

"Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, Jan. 25, 1809.

"The immediate departure of Lieut.-General Macdowall from Madras, will prevent him from pursuing the design of bringing Lieut.-Colonel Munro, Quarter-Master-General, to trial, for disrespect to the Commander in Chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the Civil Government, in defiance of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding Native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Hon. the President in Council, Lieut-Gen. Macdowall received a positive order from the Supreme Government to liberate Lieut.-Col. Munro from his confinement. Such conduct on the part of Colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander in Chief, and holding a most dangerous example to the service, Lieut.-General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, feels it incumbent upon him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieu.-Col. Munro's unex-

ampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand Lieut.-Col. Munro in general orders, and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly.

F. CAPPER.

" Adjutant-General of the Army."

[C.]

GENERAL ORDERS—BY THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

" The moment is now arrived, when Lieut.-General Macdowall is to take leave of the Company's army, whose ardent courage, consummate discipline, and persevering firmness, have been displayed in the achievements of those brilliant exploits which have secured its own glory, and added to the British empire extensive fertile regions of incalculable value and importance. May your patriotism, valour, and worth, be acknowledged and rewarded by your King and the East India Company, in proportion as they are known and appreciated by your Commander in Chief.

" Had Lieut.-General Macdowall succeeded to the high and enviable office with all the advantages enjoyed by his predecessors, he would, upon first assuming the command, have promulgated his sentiments on so flattering an event; but the circumstances of his appointment were so humiliating and unpropitious, that he declined addressing the army, in the anxious hope that the Court of Directors might, on further deliberation, be induced to restore him to his right, by altering the new and extraordinary forms of Government, and have enabled him to exercise the functions of his station, as the representative of the army, with honour to the service, and credit to himself; no prospect of such an occurrence being at all probable, in justice to the army, and to his own character, he has determined to retire.

" On quitting a country where he has passed the greatest part of his life, and where he possesses many dear and respectable friends, Lieut.-Gen. Macdowall cannot view his separation from a body of men he is sincerely attached to, without suffering the most painful sensations; from the nature of the service he can have little chance of ever meeting with them again, but he is bound to declare, that the whole of their conduct meets with his entire approbation, and he will boldly affirm, without danger of contradiction, that His Majesty has not, in any part of his dominions, a more loyal, patriotic, and valiant class of

soldiers and subjects, than the officers composing the army of Fort St. George. That success may continue to attend their steps; that their dearly-bought laurels may never decay; and that their bravery and discipline may gather additional wreaths in the field of honour, is the sincere prayer of a man who will never forget them.

(Signed) "F. CAPPER,
" Adj.-Gen. of the Army."

" Jan. 28.

[D.]

GENERAL ORDERS—BY GOVERNMENT.

" Fort St. George, Jan. 31, 1809.

" It has recently come to the knowledge of the Governor in Council, that Lieut.-General Macdowall did, previously to his embarkation from the Presidency, leave to be published to the army, a General Order, dated 28th instant, in the highest degree disrespectful to the authority of the Government, in which that officer has presumed to found a public censure on an act adopted under the immediate authority of the Governor in Council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority. The resignation of Lieut.-Gen. Macdowall of the command of the army of Fort St. George, not having been yet received it becomes the duty of the Governor in Council, in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceeding of that officer, in the present and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the repetition of further acts of outrage, to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of Lieutenant-General Macdowall to the command of the army of this Presidency; Lieutenant-General Macdowall is accordingly hereby removed from the station of Commander in Chief of the Forces at Fort St. George.

" The governor in Council must lament, with the deepest regret, the necessity of resorting to an extreme measure of this nature; but when a manifest endeavour has been used to bring into degradation the supreme public authority, it is essential that the vindication should not be less signal than the offence; and that a memorable example should be given, that proceedings subsversive of established order can find no security under the sanction of rank, however high, or of station, however exalted.

" The General Order in question having been circulated

under the signature of the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, it must have been known to that officer, that in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the Government, as no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act, connected as that act obviously in the present case has been, with views of the most reprehensible nature, the Governor in Council thinks proper to mark his highest displeasure of the conduct of Major Boles, by directing 'that he shall be suspended from the Company's service.'

"The General Order left by the Commander in Chief for publication, under date 28th inst. is directed to be expunged from every public record, and the Adjutant-General of the Army will immediately circulate the necessary orders for that purpose.

"By order of the Honourable Governor in Council,

"GEORGE BUCHAN,
Secretary to Government."

[E.]

G. O. BY GOVERNMENT.

"Fort St. George, 1st Feb. 1809.

"It having been made known to the honourable the governor in council that the adjutant-general of the army was materially implicated in the measure of giving currency to the offensive general order of the commander in chief, dated the 28th ultimo, it becomes the duty of the honourable the governor in council to direct that Lieutenant-colonel Capper be suspended from the service of the honourable company, and that officer is hereby suspended accordingly.

"The governor in council directs that major Robert Barclay will take charge of the duties of the office of adjutant-general, until further orders.

"By order of the Honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) "G. BUCHAN,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

[F.]

THE HONOURABLE SIR G. BARLOW, BART. K. B. PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

"Fort St. George, January, 1809.

"Sir,—Impelled by a laudable ambition which had long led me to aspire to the chief command of the respectable army

under this establishment, I viewed my appointment to that high office as the happiest event of my life, concluding, that I should succeed to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by my predecessors. The decision, however, of the court of directors, confirmed by the board of controul, has placed me in so extraordinary and unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions are excited, and I, at one glance, perceive that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or of doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside. Divested of the power of selecting for command, or of requiting the meritorious officer, by the restriction of military patronage; deprived of the respectability which in this country attaches to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office; it is inconsistent with the character I have ever endeavoured to maintain to hold an appointment of such magnitude and responsibility thus degraded! I have therefore the honour, honourable sir, to request that I may be permitted to resign my commission of commander in chief, and to proceed to Europe by the present opportunity. Inferring that the plan, for the exclusion of the commander in chief from council, must have been formed with sufficient deliberation, to preclude the possibility of any arguments of mine producing an alteration of sentiment on the projectors of it, I decline touching on the subject; nor will I condescend to make any reference to those, who have premeditately injured me, and who without a conciliating expression or any explanation whatever, have severely wounded the feelings of an officer who has served them with zeal and fidelity (with a short intermission) for seven and twenty years. In adverting once more to patronage, it is not possible to view without the deepest regret, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the commander in chief all the invidious duties of his station without the means of softening them to the army, by acts of favour and kindness, derived immediately from the fountain head; and I may be allowed to observe that the plea of public utility ought to be clear and urgent, which calls for the extinction or abridgement of any of these rights which the army, through its natural representative, possess, or which can justify me in admitting, that an experiment is necessary to ascertain with how small a portion of power and influence, the military duties under this government may be carried on.

"Notwithstanding these observations, (which have nothing

of novelty to recommend them) and my determined resolution to quit India with the spring fleet, should you, honourable sir, be of opinion that the public service will, in any shape, suffer detriment by my departure at the present moment, I shall consider it an imperious duty to abandon every personal feeling, and to submit to your judgment, should my exertions be deemed of importance; at the same time implicitly relying that your honourable board will sanction my embarkation, when the cause of my detention may be removed.

"I beg, however, that it may be distinctly understood, that this is not meant as courting an invitation to stay. I have been offered an indignity, and my pride and sensibility would compel me to retire, even were the sacrifice greater; for I cannot tamely submit to see the exalted station disgraced in my person, nor can I be answerable to the army if I do not resist so uncommon a deviation, which deprives it of a representative.

"The accompanying copy of a letter from his excellency the commander in chief in India will inform you, honourable sir, of his acquiescence to my application for one year's leave of absence.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HAY MACDOWALL."

[G.]

GENERAL ORDER BY GOVERNMENT.

"Fort St. George, 6th Feb. 1809.

"The honourable the governor in council having lately adopted the measure of ordering the release of the quarter-master-general of the army from arrest, and it being desirable that the circumstances connected with that measure should be distinctly and publicly understood, there being reason to believe, that a great degree of misapprehension has hitherto existed, the governor in council thinks it proper to state, that the quarter-master-general was placed under arrest by the late commander in chief, on charges founded on a report which was submitted by the quarter-master-general, in conformity to express orders; which report having been approved and adopted by the commander in chief, lieutenant-general Sir John Cradock, was by him communicated to the late right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, and finally laid before the supreme government, under whose approbation and orders, it became the foundation of measures already known to the army.

"In these circumstances the quarter-master-general could

be considered no longer responsible for proceedings so sanctioned, and it would have been inconsistent with the evident principles of justice, that a public officer should have been liable to the obloquy of a trial, for an act not his, but that of his superiors—the question which in such case would have been submitted to the cognizance of a military tribunal, would not have involved only a discussion of the conduct of the quarter-master-general, but would have extended to the measures of the principal civil and military authorities in this country; measures which had undergone the maturest consideration, and which had been carried into effect under the most formal sanction—it must be apparent, that a discussion involving consequences of this nature, would have been contrary to law, contrary to reason, ruinous of public confidence, and subversive of the foundations of military discipline, and of public authority.

"Impressed with these sentiments, it became the solemn, the bounden duty of the governor in council, on the facts being made known, by a communication from the quarter-master-general, (which, from the nature of the question, it became the right and duty of that officer to submit by direct reference on the communication having been refused by the late commander in chief) to interpose the authority of the government, for the prevention of the most fatal evils—it was the wish, it was the earnest endeavour, of the governor in council, to effect this object, by every means of conciliation and explanation; but such means having been used in vain, and having been even repelled under circumstances highly offensive, no alternative remained, but that of conveying a specific order for the removal of the arrest.

"The governor in council desires, that the officers of this army will be assured that this government would not be less solicitous to vindicate their honour and reputation, by rejecting all injurious imputations, if such could have been supposed, than the officers of the army could have been solicitous in their own vindication. The governor in council has accordingly, under this impression, been led to an attentive consideration of the expressions which are understood to have been deemed objectionable, and he has no hesitation in declaring, that it appears in his judgment, impossible, under any correct construction, to attach an offensive meaning to words, where injury was not meant, and where the intention of offence assuredly did not exist.

"Having stated this explanation, the honorable the governor in council deems it his further duty to observe, that the question which has been under deliberation, must be now considered

as concluded—the farther agitation of a subject of this nature could be availing for no purpose, but that of disturbing the established course of public affairs, and for the excitement of feelings injurious to order and authority, and it will be accordingly of importance to the public welfare, that the circumstances connected with it, should be consigned to oblivion.

"By order of the honourable the governor in Council.

(Signed) "G. BUCHAN,

"Chief Sec. to Govt."

[H.]

TO THE OFFICER OF THE WEEK OF THE JUNIOR CLASS OF THE MILITARY INSTITUTION.

"Sir,—Lieutenant-colonel Munro, quarter-master-general, having heard that the officers of the junior class of the military institution, have come to a resolution of expelling from their society Mr. Poole, for attending *at the late entertainment given at the government-house*, I am directed to ascertain if that circumstance had influenced them in their resolution against Mr. Poole, and if this should be the case, to inform the officers that they are to withdraw their proceedings against Mr. Poole, or lieutenant-colonel Munro will judge it proper to apply to government for an order, directing the gentlemen to quit the institution and join their corps. You are therefore requested to state to me what was the fact, and if it is the intention of the gentlemen to comply with the above direction.

"C. KINSEY,

"Feb. 13th 1809. "Assistant Instructor."

"TO LIEUTENANT KINSEY.

"Sir,—In reply to your letter of yesterday, the officers of the military institution beg leave to state, that they conceive the 9th paragraph regulation code, fully justifies the measures they have deemed fit to adopt against Ensign Poole, and as he is a person whose acquaintance they feel averse to, they have availed themselves of the privilege therein granted, 'to officers in common with other gentlemen, of making their own choice of companions for their private society,' to acquaint Ensign

Poole, that his longer continuance in the mess would be unpleasant to all parties.

" I have the honour to be, sir,
" Your most obedient servant,
" R. MACLEOD,
" Ensign."

" Dent's Gardens, Feb. 14, 1809.

" TO THE OFFICER OF THE WEEK OF THE JUNIOR CLASS OF THE MILITARY INSTITUTION.

" SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you the copy of a letter I have just received from lieutenant-colonel Munro, quarter-master-general, and I request that you will be pleased to send me a list of the officers composing the junior class of the military institution, at the same time making the distinction therein mentioned.

C. KINSEY,
" Assistant Instructor."

" Feb. 17th, 1809.

" LIEUTENANT KINSEY.

" SIR,—You will be pleased to forward to me, without delay, a list of the names of the officers composing the junior class of the military institution, distinguishing those who subscribed to the sentiments stated in the letter from the officer of the day, which you forwarded to me. You will be pleased to direct the latter officers to hold themselves in readiness to join their corps.

" J. MUNRO,
" Quarter Master Gen."

" Q. Master General's Office,
Fort St. George, Feb. 17th, 1809."

" LIEUTENANT KINSEY.

" SIR,—Agreeable to your request I have the honour to subscribe the names of the officers composing the junior class of the military institution, whose sentiments were expressed in the letter forwarded to you for the information of lieutenant-colonel Munro.

Lieutenant Stopford
Ensigns Marklove
Spicer
Heath
Low

Ensigns Williams
Hodges
W. Taylor
Clarke
Molesley

Ensigns M'Neil	Ensigns Macleod
Grant	Christie
Budd	J. W. Taylor
Snell	Ball

"These are the names of all the officers of the institution, at that time present, with the exception of cornet Raymond Williams.

"R. MACLEOD,
"Ensign and officer of the Week."

"TO LIEUTENANT KINSEY, ASSISTANT INSTRUCTOR.

"SIR,—I have the honour of expressing the desire of the commander in chief, that the officers attached to the junior class of the military institution, whose names are stated in the accompanying list, may be directed to join their corps forthwith. The places of these officers will be supplied at the institution without delay.

"J, MUNRO,
"Quarter Master General."

"Q. M. General's office, 20th February 1809."

[Here follows a list of the officers mentioned in the preceding letter.]

[I.]

INTENDED MEMORIAL.

"*The respectful Memorial of the Madras Army humbly sheweth,*

"That your memorialists, deeply impressed with the sense of the duty which they owe to their country, earnestly implore your gracious interference for the purpose of cancelling a system which has occasioned the most serious alarm, lest the rules and ordinances which define their place in the community may be completely subverted.

"Your memorialists are uninfluenced by extravagant notions of freedom, or any idea of independence, inconsistent with the rigid subordination which characterizes the profession, as essential to its existence; they do not expect, nor do they ask, for the relaxation of any tie, or the dissolution of any bond, by which the stupendous fabric of an extensive army is maintained in a state of due subserviency to the supreme power of the

constitution, of which it forms a part, being justly sensible that inconsiderate indulgence of immunity, engender habits of licentiousness, necessarily tend to destroy the principles of discipline, and to make that body, which was formed for the protection of the state, subversive of its tranquility.

"Your memorialists, the free children of that country, which, while the rest of Europe is enslaved, boasts a constitution the basis of which is civil liberty,—your humble memorialists, not the abject slaves of a country enthralled by despotism, respectfully assert a claim to certain rights and priviledges, the enjoyment of which may be allowed them without impairing or encroaching upon the dignity of government, or in any way interfering with the other departments of the state.

"Your memorialists have to lament generally, that although their body is now extremely numerous, and the question regarding their claims, their duties, and their priveledges are so multifarious as to require the assistance of practical experience in discussing the merits of them, yet they have not a representative in the conncil of government, where alone the discussion can be agitated; to this cause, probably, may be ascribed the recent measures which have made it necessary for your memorialists to implore your gracious interposition, as they are directly subversive of those principles of honour and discipline which harmonize and cement the constitution of a military body, and are, at the same time, grossly insulting to the general character of the military profession.

"A succinct notice of those measures will amply develope the principles by which your memorialists estimate the injuries they have already received; and, by the further abuse of authorities, which they have reason to apprehend, unless the system, so manifestly hostile to the honourable feelings of a military society, be seasonably checked.

"It may be already known to your lordship that lieutenant-colonel Munro, a member of the body to which your memorialists belong, having incurred the suspicion of having acted in a manner that was most generally considered to be criminal, was openly and publicly impeached by a considerable number of respectable officers, who preferred charges against him. This measure was adopted in the hope that a cordial examination before the honourable tribunal of a court-martial might confirm the supposed guilt, and lead to adequate punishment, or, if guilt did not actually exist, that, purified by that ordeal, he might again return to take his place, in a society, in which, as must be well known to your lordships, supicion is considered as equivalent to infamy.

"In consequence of those charges, and by virtue of the warrant which gave to the commander in chief, and to him only, the judicature of the Madras army, and vested in him alone the jurisdiction, for the time being, lieutenant-general Macdowall placed lieutenant-colonel Munro under arrest; he has since reluctantly released that officer, in consequence of the interference of the civil government, who have thus disunited the chain, upon the integrity of which the principles of military subordination depend; for, if the source from whence authority and subordination flow to all members of the military body be violated, the subordinate branches, which derive their existence from thence, must lose their virtue.

"Viewing the interference of the civil government to check the prescribed laws of military dependence, as a dangerous violation and infringement of the solemn laws of the army, your memorialists perceive in it the seeds of unlicensed anarchy and confusion; no desultory exercise of arbitrary power, however severe, can be expected to restrain the passions or feelings of enlightened men, although it may mortify or distress individuals; the doubt regarding the legality and precarious principle by which it must ever be regulated, deprive it of that authority and respect which attaches to an established system of jurisprudence, sanctioned by the legislature, by prescription, by habits, and by the feelings of those educated under its influence.

"In order to vindicate the character of his profession, and to maintain the integrity of the military authority over those under his command, lieutenant-general Macdowall directed the publication of a general order, conveying a reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro, for disrespect to his commander in chief in not abiding by the regular course of enquiry, laid down in similar cases.

"As the former acts of the government had proclaimed to the army that lieutenant-colonel Munro was not amenable to military law, on this occasion that officer was declared to be superior to the controul of the commander in chief, by the publication of an order, in which general Macdowall is stigmatized with the reproach of having acted in a manner derogatory to the character of government, and subversive of military discipline, and the foundation of public authority, although the order of gen. Macdowall refers purely to the disrespect, the disobedience of orders, and the contempt of military authority, manifested by an officer, who was not only under his general controul, as belonging to the army which he commanded, but who, attached to his immediate staff, owed him particular respect and obedience.

"Your memorialists, accustomed to judge of the acts of

military men as referable to the standard of right and wrong, which has been established by the legislature for the controul of their body, cannot discover any relation between the orders of government, and the rules of discipline and subordination, equally subversive of the foundation of authority, as that resolution of government, by which the adjutant-general and his deputy are ignominiously suspended from the service, for having obeyed the orders of their commander in chief, which obedience is stated to be a direct violation of the duty of those officers towards the government.

"It must be painful to your lordship, as it is to your memorialists, to contemplate the possible consequences of a procedure equally unprecedented as it is unaccountable, by any other rules than those of blind prejudice, or deluded infatuation.

"Your memorialists perceive a commander in chief, who had lived among them, who was personally beloved by many, and who was known by all, to have manifested great forbearance, under circumstances extremely mortifying, from the conduct which government observed towards him, they perceive the character of such a man grossly calumniated, while their regret for his departure was yet fresh; they perceive two officers of high rank, character, and respectability publicly degraded, deprived of their rank, and suspended from the service, for having obeyed their commander in chief, in signing and publishing an order written by himself, for the purpose of vindicating the dignity of his military authority, which had been flagrantly violated by one of his own staff, who openly defied and disregarded the supreme military commission; they perceive this officer, who had been publicly impeached, under charges of a serious nature, and who had insulted his commander in chief, sheltered from the natural effect of such misconduct, by the interference of government. Your memorialists cannot avoid declaring, that they see, in this evasion of the fundamental laws of discipline, a most dangerous infringement of the military code; that bulwark which protects the state from the licentiousness of an armed rabble, a power subject to no controul, except the caprice or prejudice of an individual; and your memorialists feel a just alarm, lest the repetition of acts, which are not guided by any rule, may tend to wean their affections, and dispose them to consider as enemies those whose situations should make them their friends.

"Your memorialists have learned, with indignant regret, that their enemies, and the enemies of their country, have represented a public disaffection the discontent produced by local and partial injuries, arising from the present rupture, but they con-

fidently appeal to the zeal and ardour with which a large proportion of them are now discharging the most arduous duties in the service of the state; they appeal to the moderation with which they have stifled their feelings, that the recent conduct of the Madras government was calculated to inspire; and while they declare their inviolable attachment to the state under which they serve, and to their profession, as regulated by its own law, they cannot suppress the expression of their concern, at the manner in which the exclusive rights of the army have recently been violated, and their sanguine hopes and earnest entreaty that the supreme government may, in its wisdom, be induced to appease their just alarms, and to anticipate the extreme crisis of their agitation, by relieving them from the controul of a ruler, whose measures, guided by their enemy, are equally detrimental to the interest of the state, as they are injurious to the feelings of a loyal and patriotic army."

[K.]

" TO MAJOR BOLES.

" SIR,—The officers of the Madras army whose names are hereunto annexed, can no longer abstain from expressing to you their surprize and concern at the severe and unmerited punishment inflicted on you, by an act of the civil government of Fort St. George, for no reason that is stated, but that you obeyed the orders of the commander in chief, in a case purely military.

" Feeling the question to involve circumstances essential to their best interests, and fundamental to the character and respectability of the army, no less than to the principles of martial law, they consider themselves called upon to signify to you their marked approbation of your conduct as an officer on the general staff on that occasion.

" Whilst your brother officers seize this opportunity to express their sense of the propriety of your conduct, they fully appreciate the personal inconvenience to which you are exposed by suspension from office, and the service. With these feelings they request the honour of repairing your injuries, in the mean time, as far as lays within their power, by subscribing and paying to your order, monthly, the full amount of that pay, and staff allowance, of which you have been in this extraordinary manner deprived.

" As your conduct on the occasion alluded to, is exactly conformable to what the undersigned, if placed in your situation,

would have pursued, they cannot avoid making your cause their own, and, under existing circumstances, such mutual support must be expected, and accepted by all who, like yourself, have or may become sufferers, through any such exceptionable measures on the part of the civil government of Fort St. George, as have rendered necessary the painful step we have now taken.

[L.)

"TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE FORCES SERVING IN TRAVANCORE.

"SIR,---It having come to my knowledge that papers of a very improper nature are in circulation among the officers of the army, regarding the suspension of major Boles from the situation of deputy-adjutant-general of the army, in consequence of having applied his signature to the general order of the 28th of January last; as this circumstance has not come before me in any public or authenticated form, I am induced to notice it to you in this way, rather than through the channel of a general order.

"The paper in question, if I am rightly informed, has, for one of its objects, the collection of a subscription for the relief of major Boles, a circumstance which, as commander of the army, I could take no interest in, as officers may apply their money for the benefit of whom they please, did it not, at the same time, if I am rightly informed, intimate an intention of supporting all others who may, in like manner, fall under the displeasure of government, and imply also a justification of the principle upon which major Boles acted.

"It is impossible for the commander of an English army to take a passive part, whilst such things are transacting among those under his command; as these officers, by placing their principles in direct opposition to that of government, and holding out a security and indemnity, in fact encouraging disobedience and revolt, as far as it is possible for them to do.

"It were needless for me to explain, to a person of your experience, that an officer, under an English government, can only be justifiable in obeying a legal order, and that the order in question was of a nature calculated to excite sedition in the army, and, as such, unjustifiable and illegal on the face of it, and ought accordingly to have been declined by every well-informed officer. Major Boles must, from his situation, be supposed to have known, that the governor and council of Fort

St. George are not only the civil, but, by the express enactment of the British legislature, the military government also of the country; the whole of the civil and military government of the presidency of Fort St. George being vested in a governor and three counsellors, by the act of 1793.

"Although it can never be proper to accustom officers to hesitate as to obeying the usual commands of their superiors, yet this principle, if not limited by law, would, in its operation, tend to the subversion of all government, and put it in the power of any desperate leader, by indemnifying all under him, to issue what orders, and do what act he chose. But, fortunately, the principle is sufficiently understood in an English army, that the military state is subordinate to the civil, and that where there is command, there can be no duty but to obey.

"As I depreciate the discussion in public orders of odious and delicate questions, and as I am unwilling to publish any general order on a subject so perfectly understood, (and which, but for the prejudice of the moment, could never be mistaken) I choose rather to trust to your discretion, that you will exercise the influence of your situation in explaining to those under your command, the impropriety of their conduct, in thus gving circulation to sentiments of such unfounded and pernicious tendency, as are said to be found in that paper regarding major Boles, and which, I am much afraid, will be attended with very serious consequences to those who have been so ill advised as to fix their signatures to it; for when a paper of this, or any other factious nature, comes before me, I can have no difficulty in advising government how to dispose of the authors of it.

"As compassion for major Boles may have drawn in the officers to this measure, I think it proper here to explain, that major Boles has, in my opinion, deprived himself of any particular claim to feelings of that nature. It had never been, I was persuaded, the intention of government to deal severely with that officer, but only to vindicate that respect due to their own authority, which every government must be anxious to maintain. And, accordingly, (but without any instructions to that effect) soon after my succeeding to the command, I took the occasion to signify to major Boles, that if he would express any adequate regret for what he had done, as that when he had offered his signature to the order he was not aware of the consequence, and thought he was acting right, without meaning any offence to government, but was now sorry for what had happened, I would make it my business to get him reinstated in his rank and official situation. But this explanation, so natural to have been expected, and which included in it no personal con-

cession of character, was rejected, (and not without some warmth) by his exclaiming that he was sorry for nothing that had happened, or words to that effect.

"I beg to call your attention to the following extract of a general order, by this government, of the 30th of December, 1799, by which you will perceive the restrictions to which the circulation of addresses to the army has been limited.

"'His lordship in council also prohibits, under the strongest 'injunctions, the publication in future of any addresses to the 'army, or to any division of it, by any person or persons 'whatever, without the previous sanction of his lordship, or 'of the governor general in council.'

"I have to rely on your discretion that you will adopt the means suitable to the occasion for the discouragement and prevention of the address above alluded to, or of any other of a similar description, with the division under your command.

(Signed) "F. GOWDIE,
"M. G. commanding,"

"Fort St. George,
Commander in Chief's Office, 10th April, 1809."

[M.]

"G. O. BY THE HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

"Fort St. George, May 1, 1809.

"The zeal and discipline, by which the military establishment of Fort St. George had long been distinguished, induced the governor in council to expect that the measures which the violent and intemperate acts of the late commander in chief had imposed on the government, would be received by all the officers of the army with the sentiments of respect and obedience prescribed by the principles of military subordination, and due to the government by which those measures were adopted, as well as to the authorities to which they were ultimately referred. The governor in council has, however, learnt, with a degree of surprise proportionate to the confidence which he reposed in the discipline of the army, that soon after the departure of the late commander in chief, proceedings of the most unjustifiable nature, and correspondent to the example which he had afforded, were pursued by certain officers of the army.

"The most reprehensible of those proceedings consisted in the preparation of a paper, addressed to the right honourable the governor general, purporting to be a remonstrance, in the name

of the army, against the acts of the government under which it serves.

"That paper is not more hostile to the authority of this government than to the first principles of all government. It maintains opinions directly adverse to the constitution of the British service, and is calculated to destroy every foundation of discipline, obedience and fidelity.

"The secrecy observed in preparing this seditious paper, prevented for some time the discovery of the persons engaged in that proceeding. But it has now been ascertained that captain Josiah Marshall, late secretary to the military board, and lieutenant-colonel George Martin, lately permitted to proceed to England, were principally concerned in preparing and circulating the memorial in question, and that lieutenant-colonel, the honourable Arthur Sentleger was active in promoting its circulation, employing the influence which he derived from the important command confided to him by the government, for the purpose of attempting the subversion of its authority, and spreading disaffection among the troops which it had entrusted to his charge.

"It has also been ascertained that major J. De Morgan has been active in the circulation of the memorial.

"The governor in council is also under the necessity of noticing another paper, of a most dangerous tendency, lately in circulation at some of the military stations, purporting to be an address from the officers of the army to major Boles, the late deputy-adjutant-general. In this address a right is assumed to decide on the acts of the government, by condemning in unqualified terms, the sentence of suspension passed on major Boles; and an encouragement is held out to other officers to violate their duty to the government, by affording a pecuniary indemnification, not only to major Boles, but to all such officers as shall suffer by any act of the government which the subscribers to the address may deem exceptionable. This paper, so incompatible with the military character, and so repugnant to the fundamental principles of military discipline and government, was forced on the attention of the governor by captain James Grant, commandant of his body guard, who, while holding that confidential situation, and employed, by order of the governor in council, under the resident at Travancore, transmitted a copy of the paper to be laid before the governor, with an avowal, that he had affixed his signature to it, and a defence of the grounds on which he adopted that proceeding.

"It has also been ascertained that a paper of a similar tendency has been circulated among the officers of the corps of

artillery at the Mount, and that its circulation has been promoted by lieutenant-colonel Robert Bell, the officer commanding that corps.

"The governor in council regrets that he is obliged to notice also the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Chalmers (commanding in Travancore,) and lieutenant-colonel Cuppage (lately commanding in Malabar, and employed with the troops under his orders at Travancore) who appear to have taken no steps whatever either to repress or report to the government the improper proceedings pursued by part of the troops under their orders. It is not sufficient for officers holding commands to avoid a participation in such proceedings; it is their positive and indispensable duty to adopt the most decided measures for their suppression, and to report them to their superior authorities.

"It has further been ascertained that captain J. M. Coombs, assistant-quarter-master-general in Mysore, has been concerned in these reprehensible proeeedings.

"It becomes the painful duty of the governor in council to mark with the displeasure of the government the conduct of the abovementioned officers, who have been engaged in a course of measures equally dangerous to the existence of discipline, to the foundations of legal government, and to the interests of their country.

"The undermentioned officers are accordingly declared to be suspended from the service of the honourable company, until the pleasure of the honourable the Court of Directors shall be known.

"Lieutenant-colonel the hon. Arthur Sentleger.
Major John de Morgan,
Captain Josiah Marshal
Captain James Grant.

"Lieutenant-colonel commandant Robert Bell, is removed from all military charge and command, until the pleasure of the honourable the Court of Directors shall be known, but he is permitted to draw his regimental pay and allowances.

"Lieutenant-colonel commandant J. M. Chalmers is removed from the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore.

"The under mentioned officers are removed from their staff appointments, and ordered to join the corps to which they stand attached.

"Lieutenant-colonel John Cuppage.
Captain J. M. Coombs.

"The governor in council considers it to be proper to avail himself of this occasion to correct a misapprehension, highly dangerous in its tendency, which has arisen in the minds of

some of the officers of the army, with regard to the nature of the authority of the governor in council. This misapprehension appears to have originated in the general order, published by the late commander in chief on the 28th of January last, from which it might be inferred that the authority of the governor in council is only of a civil nature, whereas, by the express enactment of the legislature, the entire civil and military government of the Presidency of Fort St. George and its dependencies is vested in the governor in council. It is therefore to be distinctly understood that no officer, of whatever rank, while serving under the presidency of Fort St. George, can without incurring the penalties of disobedience to the legislature of his country, issue any order in violation, or to the derogation, of the authority of the government; and that every officer complying with an order of that description under any pretence whatever, renders himself liable to the forfeiture of the service, and to such legal penalties as the nature of the case may demand.

"While the governor in council deems it to be proper to afford the foregoing explanation, he feels himself at the same time bound to acknowledge that the principles to which he has adverted, have never been called in question, until the publication of the above-mentioned order of the late commander in chief. On the contrary, these principles had been invariably acted upon by the government and by the officers of the army of this presidency, who have been no less distinguished for their obedience and discipline, than for their achievements in the field. The governor in council also experiences the most sincere satisfaction, in publishing his conviction that the majority of the army have resisted all participation in the improper and dangerous proceedings described in this order; and it is an act of justice to the troops of his Majesty's service to declare his entire approbation of the order, discipline, and steady adherence to duty, which they have invariably manifested. The information before the government does not enable the governor in council to distinguish, by the expression of his approbation, all the troops of the company's service that have manifested the same dispositions; but he deems it to be proper to notice, on this occasion, the satisfactory and exemplary conduct of the part of the army composing the Hyderabad subsidiary force. The honourable the governor in council is also confident that such officers as have inadvertently yielded to the misrepresentations of individuals, who have been engaged in the prosecution of designs equally fatal to the honor and to the interests of the army, will in future manifest, in the service of the government, the

obedience, fidelity and zeal which constitute the first principles of their profession, which have hitherto distinguished the army, and which are indispensable to the prosperity of the British empire in India.

"By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Sec. to Govt."

GENERAL ORDER BY GOVERNMENT.

"May 1, 1809.

"The honourable the governor in council has been pleased to make the following appointments:

"Major T. H. S. Conway to be adjutant-general of the army, with the official rank of lieutenant-colonel, vice Cuppage.

"Captain P. V. Agnew to be deputy-adjutant-general of the army, with the official rank of major, vice Conway.

"Lieutenant-colonel T. Clarke to be commandant of artillery, with the staff allowance annexed to that station, and a seat at the military board, vice Bell.

"Major Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, to be commissary of stores in charge of the arsenal of Fort St. George, vice Clarke.

"Lieutenant A. E. Patullo, to command the honourable the governor's body guard, vice Grant.

"Captain J. Doveton, of the 7th regiment native cavalry, to be paymaster at Vizagapatam, vice Marshall.

"The following officers, who have been suspended from the service of the honourable company, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, are directed to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England, by such opportunities as the honourable the governor in council may think proper to point out, viz.

"Lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur Sentleger,
Major Thomas Boles,
Major John De Morgan,
Captain Josiah Marshall,
Captain James Grant.

"Lieutenant-colonel Sentleger is further directed to repair to the presidency without delay.

"The honourable the governor having been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-colonel Henry Conran, of his Majesty's royal regiment, to command the whole of the troops composing the

garrison of Fort St. George, the governor in council directs that col. Conran shall be considered to be entitled to the same allowances as other officers holding commands under the appointment of the governor in council.

"By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

"By order of major-general Gowdie, commanding the army."

[N.]

"GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

"Fort William, July 20, 1809.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received private but authentic advices, that orders having been issued by major-general Gowdie, the officer commanding in chief on the coast, to lieutenant-colonel Innes, commanding at Masulipatam, directing the embarkation of one or more detachments of the Madras European regiments on board his majesty's ships, for the purpose of serving as marines; the officers of the station were induced to entertain the erroneous supposition, that the object of those orders was to separate, and finally to disperse that regiment, (a design which the government of Fort St. George has formally disavowed) and, under the influence of this misapprehension, declared their resolution to resist the execution of them; that lieutenant-colonel Innes, having manifested a determination to enforce them, the officers of the garrison proceeded to the barracks, and by personal representation succeeded in seducing the troops from their duty, and in obtaining from them a promise of support; that major Storey, the next in command, who was then in the cantonments, proceeded to the garrison, and having endeavoured, without success, to induce lieutenant-colonel Innes to depart from the obligation of his public duty, by abandoning his resolution to carry into effect the orders which he had received, adopted the extreme measure of placing that officer in arrest, under the charge of European centries.

"The governor-general in council has deemed it necessary to apprize the army of Bengal of an event so deeply interesting to the feelings of every loyal subject, and especially of those who have the honour to bear a military commission. The governor-general in council has received, with sentiments of the deepest affliction, the intelligence of the excesses into which

the officers of the station of Masulipatam have thus been gradually led by the effects of the late prevailing agitation in the army of the Coast. He trusts, however, that this unhappy event will afford a salutary warning of the danger to which the combined interest of the public and the army must be ever exposed by the first and slightest departure from the established principles of military discipline, on the one hand; and, on the other, of a just subordination to the laws of their country and to the legitimate authority of the state.

"The occurrence of this afflicting event, combined with the agitation which unhappily prevails among the officers of the army of Fort St. George, renders it the duty of the governor-general to proceed, without delay, to that presidency, in the hope of being enabled successfully to appeal to those sentiments of loyalty and attachment to their King and their country, which his lordship in council yet confidently ascribes to the general body of the officers of the coast army; whose zeal, fidelity, and professional achievements have hitherto been the theme of just and unqualified applause: and, by an accurate knowledge of all the circumstances which have attended the late agitation, to devise such means as may best tend to avert the impending dangers of anarchy and insubordination, and re-establish the foundations of public security and national prosperity in this important branch of the British empire.

"N. B. EDMONSTONE,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

[O.]

"GENERAL ORDERS BY THE HON. THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

"August 3rd.

"Para. 1. The honourable the governor in council judges it proper to announce to the native troops, that the very improper conduct of some of the European officers of the company's service, and the refusal of others to acknowledge their allegiance to the government, have rendered it indispensably necessary to remove for a time a considerable number of European officers from the exercise of authority.

"2. This measure will not, however, affect, in any respect, the situation of the native troops, who must know, that their first duty is to the government which they serve, and from which all authority is derived.

"3. The governor in council entertains the same solicitude

for the welfare and comforts of the native troops that has invariably been manifested by the British government.

"4. He has no intention whatever of making any changes in their situation; and he expects that the native troops will display on every emergency the unshaken fidelity to government which constitutes the first duty of a soldier; that they will obey with zeal the orders of the officers whom the government shall place in authority over them; that they will refuse a belief to all reports calculated to agitate their minds and diminish their confidence in the government; and that they will not allow themselves to be involved in measures in any respect adverse to their duty and allegiance.

"5. The governor in council is pleased to express his approbation of the good conduct which has been recently manifested by the native troops at the presidency in the camp at the Mount, at Trichinopoly, and at Vellore, and he is confident that their behaviour will be equally correct and loyal at all other stations of the army.

"By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Sec. to Govt."

"August 5th.

"The hon. the governor in council has been pleased to resolve, that all the European officers of the company's service, who may be removed from the exercise of their military functions, in consequence of their refusing or omitting to sign the declaration, required in the orders of the 26th of July last, shall be permitted to choose a place for their residence until further orders, between Sadras and Negapatam, both places included, from which they are not afterwards to proceed beyond the distance of five miles, without the permission of the governor in council.

"The governor in council is further pleased to direct, that the commanding officers of divisions, stations, or corps, shall take the most effectual measures for obliging the officers who may be suspended from the exercise of their military functions, for the reasons above stated, to quit the stations of their corps without any delay whatever, and to proceed, with all practicable dispatch, to the places which they may choose for their residence.

"Commanding officers of divisions, &c. are directed to report to the office of the adjutant-general of the army, the names of

the places which may be selected by the officers for their residence under this order.

"By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Sec. to Gov."

[P.]

"LIEUTENANT COLONEL DAVIS, COMMANDING IN MYSORE.

"SIR,—I have this morning received your official letter, giving cover to a copy of a letter from government, under date 26th ult. and have, in reply, to state, that I tendered the paper, in due form, to all the officers present here, who (unaminously) refused to sign it. I have delivered over the command to Subidar Bohoodling, a most respectable and good soldier, whom I had some trouble to persuade to supersede his European officers in the command of the corps and stations. The enclosures will fully explain every thing further.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) "JAMES WELSH,
"Late major, &c."

"August 6th, 1809."

"LIEUTENANT COLONEL GIBBS, COMMANDING IN BANGALORE.

"SIR,—I have the honour to forward a paper, which I have to request you will forward to Madras, without delay; I beg leave, at the same time, to offer apologies for making you the channel of such communication, which proceeds from the absence of colonel Davis, and an anxiety to antici[illegible]rders of government, that we may share, in common [illegible]other officers at Bangalore, that temporary disgrace [illegible] George Barlow has determined to inflict on them.

"I have the honour [illegible], Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"JAMES WELSH."

"We, the undersigned officers of the garrison of Nundydroog, understanding that our brother officers at Bangalore have been called upon to sign a paper, promising implicit obedience [illegible] [illegible]ders of the honourable Sir George Barlow,

governor of Fort St. George, and threatened with suspension in case of refusal, conceive it our duty, unasked, to step forward and declare, that, under existing circumstances, we shall decline signing any such paper, if tendered to us; at the same time, we think it incumbent on us to assign our reasons for this act of disobedience to the mandate of our immediate superiors.

"It is not, at this late period, necessary to state all those grievances under which the company's officers alone labour, (for the officers of his Majesty's service have been entirely exempted from a participation of them) it is sufficient for us to declare, that we are, from principles, embarked in one common cause, and that we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to co-operate with our brother officers, in all legal means to obtain redress. It will, therefore, clearly appear that signing such papers as the one in circulation, would be an abandonment of those sacred principles of honour by which we are actuated, and a breach of faith towards our suffering brother officers, and a tacit acquiescence in those measures which we conceive to be of the most pernicious nature to the interests of the honourable company, (our masters) and of the most degrading tendency to our whole body, and the service in general. We further have reason to suspect, that were we base enough to sign such a promise, though through fear of losing our commissions, (now no longer valuable) if we cannot hold them with honour, that our swords, hitherto only used against the enemies of our country, would be directed against the bosoms of our brother officers, and our energies employed in overturning that empire which our honourable masters have acquired by our unremitting exertions, and purchased at the expense of our blood. The right honourable Lord Minto has admitted the right of soldiers, on some occasions, to consider the nature and tendency of orders; under this sanction, we solemnly protest against measures which, if persi[illegible]cannot fail to ruin our honourable masters. We see [illegible]dvanced; we behold the probable consequences of the [illegible]stem; and we shudder for the fall of British India. [illegible]e ourselves true to the service of our honourable [illegible]d ready to expose our lives in defence of their rights and te[illegible]ories, but, at the same time, resolved never to compromise our own honour.

(Signed) "J. WELSH,
P. STEVENSON,
J. WALKER,
J. TEGG,
J. M. WATSON.

"Nundydroog, 5th of August, 1809."

[Q.]

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MINTO, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

" My Lord,—We, the undersigned officers of the Madras establishment, congratulate ourselves and our brother officers, on your Lordship's arrival at this Presidency, and, impressed with sentiments of high respect for your lordship's character and station, as well as urged by every motive of ardent loyalty and allegiance to our king, undiminished attachment to our country, and unshaken fidelity to our employers, hasten to address your lordship. We do, therefore, most respectfully, but most earnestly, implore your lordship, to grant a patient and indulgent consideration to the circumstances we have to submit. We entreat you to suspend your judgmeut, to banish from your mind any unfavourable impressions you may have received of our national attachment, or obedience and respect for the local administration of India; and not to admit those suggestions, which would impute to the officers of the Madras army any thing like disaffection to the state, or any premeditated disposition to insult the authority, or injure the interests of the British government in India; for we do most solemnly and explicitly disavow any such sentiments or intentions.

" 2. Your lordship is too well aware of the unhappy and general agitation prevailing throughout the army of this presidency. We, my lord, most sincerely deplore its existence, and lament, with unfeigned regret, the extremes to which it has led, and the awful crisis it has produced; we, therefore, hail your lordship's arrival as an auspicious event, which will dispel the impending gloom, avert the threatened calamities, restore to the army of this presidency its former happiness and tranquility; we repose unbounded confidence in your lordship's wisdom, justice, and liberality, and cherish a sanguine hope, that you will not deem it unworthy of your hi[illegible]ation to investigate those causes, that have combined [illegible]rge portion of the company's officers in the pain[illegible]ing situation in which we now stand. May w[illegible]e, that your lordship's magnanimity will ex[illegible]ne attention to the feelings of a large respect[illegible]ers, whose minds have been agitated beyond [illegible]e to controul.

" 3. It would be unbecoming in us, [illegible] inconsistent with the high respect we feel for you[illegible] obtrude a statement of those particular grievance[illegible] coast army so keenly feel, and so bitterly complain of; [illegible] us to represent the recent measures which has placed us, a[illegible] large body of our brother officers, in our present unexampled

situation, and to solicit your attention to the detail of the circumstances attending it.

"4. On the 26th of July, we, the officers serving with the troops in camp, and at St. Thomas's Mount, suddenly received orders to repair to lieutenant-colonel Hare's house, (at some distance from our camp) which we immediately obeyed; the piquet, which we had necessarily to pass, being drawn out to preclude our return to our camp. On being assembled, lieutenant-colonel Hare read to us certain parts of a dispatch, addressed to him by government, in which a large portion of the company's officers were represented to be in a seditious, rebellious state, prosecuting measures of hostility against the government, which rendered it necessary to separate the faithful from the seditious; to make which discrimination, the government required, that the officers of the army should sign a pledge, solemnly binding themselves to act up to the tenor of their commissions; and it was directed, that those who might decline to subscribe that test, should be removed from their corps, and suspended from all military employments, till the temper of their minds should allow of their being employed in the service of the state. It was further directed, that they should be detained till their tents could be struck, and they were then to be removed to a sufficient distance to prevent their return to, or communication with, their corps. Your lordship may form some idea of our situation, but it is far beyond the powers of language to convey to your lordship a just or adequate impression of our feelings, on this extraordinary occasion. Amongst us, my lord, were some who have served the honourable company with zeal, and unquestioned fidelity, for nearly thirty years; others for shorter periods, but all with equal ardor and attachment; yet we found ourselves placed in the humiliating situation we have described, betrayed, (if we may use the term) into a snare, surrounded by troops, and called upon to [illegible] test, which in itself, implied more than a suspici[illegible]y, and, combined with the circumstances under w[illegible]red, was deeply injurious to our sensibility, ou[illegible] honour.

[illegible]ccept it; but, mortified as we were, we left n[illegible]aving distinctly explained to lieutenant-[illegible]nciples and sentiments, by stating to him, [illegible]s we held contained every obligation speci[illegible]oposed pledge; that 'we had never departed from [illegible]ations, or disobeyed any orders of the government; [illegible] so long as we retained them, we should fulfil their obliga[illegible]ions, and obey the lawful orders of our superiors; and that

'for any disobedience thereto, we knew we were amenable 'to military law and liable to the penalties of the articles of 'war,—and we could not consent to subscribe a pledge, the 'object of which might be to oppose us to our brother officers, 'and the interests of our service.'

"5. Such a test, and tendered to us under such circumstances, could not but degrade us in the estimation of our brother officers of his Majesty's army, to whom no similar proposal was made; whose conduct was described in terms of warm and unqualified approbation, while the company's officers were stigmatized by epithets of reproach, censure, and disgrace; yet, my lord, we may appeal to our conduct, on all occasions, for the proofs that we have never been inferior either in loyalty, fidelity, or professional zeal.

"6. These are the circumstances under which we have been removed from our employments, and from those troops we have so long commanded, whose discipline we established, whose confidence and attachment we have acquired, whose zeal we have animated, and whose exertions we have directed, in the service of the East India Company.

"7. Though we will not presume to suggest the consequences likely to result from this separation of the officers from their men, it is a justice due to ourselves, to declare most solemnly to your lordship, that, however agitated our feelings have been, we have most studiously concealed from the troops, under our orders, any knowledge or communication whatever, of any disagreement between the government and the army. Your lordship's justice will, we trust, therefore, absolve us from any reproach for any evils that may arise; and here, my lord, it is not without the greatest pain that we are compelled to remark, that, before our removal from our corps, we had detected emissaries among our men, endeavouring to seduce them from their obedience to their officers, to weaken their attachment, to infuse suspicion into their minds, an[illegible]e them against us while we were in the actual ex[illegible]mand.

"8. We will no longer trespass on your l[illegible] we cannot conclude without repeating our [illegible] sive appeal to your lordship, and adjuring [illegible] for the prosperity of this great empire, [illegible] charge, and by the most sacred of all obliga[illegible] our parent country, that you will condescen[illegible] plaints of a respectable body of British subjects.[illegible]

lord, reject our petition, nor condemn us upon the representations of those, who have already, we fear, endeavoured to impress on your lordship's mind an unfavourable opinion of our principles. Let the claims the company's officers have established on their country, be alone present to your lordship's mind, and let us owe to your lordship's justice the relief we implore; this will secure to your lordship our lasting gratitude and affection, and inspire sentiments which no time will erase.

" We venture to assure your lordship, that no obstacles will oppose your endeavours to restore tranquillity, and that your lordship may confide in the honour and patriotism of the officers of this army. We come not to you a clamorous multitude, nor are we a licentious body, impatient of controul, and spurning at the restraints of authority; we are not actuated by any false notions of liberty; we do not seek, or desire, any emancipation from the rigid, but just, rules of our order; we are not prosecuting views of professional aggrandizement, and far less any measure of hostility against the government under which we serve; we explicitly disclaim every such idea, and any wish, incompatible with the strictest subordination to legitimate authority, and to the laws of our country. Our respect for the authority of government, as by law established, continues undiminished, and, under that authority, as heretofore administered, we have lived happily, and performed our duty cheerfully; we feel bound to convey to your lordship this explicit and solemn assurance, that our loyalty and allegiance to our King is unimpaired, our zeal and fidelity for our employers undiminished, and that our attachment to our country is unabated, and we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood in defence of the British power in India.

" We have the honour to be, my lord,

" Your lordship's most faithful, devoted servants,

[Signed by the officers of all the corps.]

" [illegible]h August, 1809."

[R.]

[illegible] BY GOVERNMENT.

" Fort St. George, August 9, 1809.

[illegible] in council having taken into consideration [illegible] transactions that have occurred to the garrison [illegible] op[illegible]n, and being satisfied that the part borne by the [illegible] transactions is to be entirely imputed to the misrepresentations and seduction of their European officers, is

pleased to proclaim a full pardon to the European non-commissioned officers and privates, and to the Native commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers of the garrison of Masulipatam, who were concerned in these improper proceedings. The governor in council entertains a confident persuasion, that this act of lenity will produce a proper effect in the minds of these men, and induce them to manifest in future that fidelity to the government, which constitutes the first duty and highest praise of every soldier.

" The governor in council prohibits the march of any body of troops from the garrison of Masulipatam, without the orders of Major General Pater, commanding the northern division; and directs, that any troops who may have marched from Masulipatam without due authority, shall return forthwith to that station, on pain of being considered to be in a state of rebellion to the government.

" A. FALCONAR,
" Chief Secretary."

" GENERAL ORDERS BY THE HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

" Fort St. George, Aug. 12, 1809.

" The course of proceeding followed for some time past by the officers of the honourable company's army at this presidency, has obliged the government to adopt the most decided measures for the preservation of the important interests committed to its charge. These proceedings may be stated to have commenced with the transmission to the government by the late commander in chief of a memorial addressed to the honourable the court of directors, dated January, 1809, and signed by a large proportion of the company's officers. Although that paper exhibits claims of an ungrounded nature, and contains observations equally improper and unjust on the orders of th[illegible]r-able the court of directors and the government, t[illegible] council was induced to permit it to pass with[illegible] notice which it appeared to demand, by a con[illegible] cipline of the army, and a persuasion tha[illegible] passages in the memorial were inadvertent[illegible] introduced.

" The subsequent conduct of the comm[illegible] the government to vindicate its authority, by a[illegible] punishment. It was well known to the comp[illegible] the whole of this proceeding was referred to the su[illegible] ment, and the authorities in Europe; that it wo[illegible] rece[illegible]

from their wisdom a decision conformable to the soundest principles of reason and justice; and that its discussion could not belong to the cognizance of the army, who are precluded from becoming a deliberative body. Notwithstanding these considerations, the governor in council, anxious to remove every cause of misunderstanding relative to a measure of so important a nature, published an order, dated the 31st January, explaining to the army the grounds on which it was adopted. The governor in council had a right to expect, on the most obvious grounds of discipline and respect for the laws, that the question would have been permitted to rest here, and receive its final reward from the only powers competent to decide on it; and it was with feelings of equal surprize and concern he learned, that a memorial to the supreme government, of the most intemperate description, was circulated in the company's army.

"The governor in council, desirous to avoid a recurrence to measures of severity, and persuaded that it was sufficient to apprize the company's officers of the improper nature of the proceedings, to induce them to desist from their prosecution, authorized the commander in chief to issue a circular letter, dated the 5th March, 1809, explaining to those officers the impropriety of their conduct, and calling upon them, by the most powerful motives of duty, allegiance, and honour, to abstain from such unjustifiable measures. A letter from the right honourable the governor in council, dated the 20th Feb. 1809, approving of the steps adopted by the governor of Fort St. George, with respect to the late commander in chief, was also circulated to the army, in the expectation that the sentiments of the supreme government would have suppressed the spirit of faction and insubordination which prevailed. These letters appear to have produced no effect; the memorial to the supreme government made further progress; and an address to Major Boles, an officer under sentence of suspension, written in [illegible] determined sedition, was circulated in the army, [illegible]n the notice of the governor in council, by a com- [illegible]olding a confidential situation on his staff—the [illegible]il was still induced to pursue a system of for- [illegible]ntiments of affection and respect which he [illegible]rtain towards the company's officers; and [illegible]t the principles of zeal, discipline, and [illegible], by which he supposed they were actuated, [illegible] to relinquish the reprehensible measures in [illegible]e engaged, on being made fully acquainted with [illegible]priety and danger. The commander in chief, accordingly, under the sanction of the government, issued a

second circular letter, dated 10th April, 1809, again calling upon the officers of the company's army to adhere to their duty, correcting the erroneous opinions which they had received, regarding the powers of government, and describing the unjustifiable nature and dangerous consequences of their proceedings. The governor in council learned, with deep regret, that these measures of moderation, these repeated and urgent appeals to the discipline, duty, national attachment, and professional honour of the company's officers were entirely nugatory; that the memorials continued to be circulated, and that sentiments of sedition were openly declared in many parts of the army; the further forbearance of the government would have encouraged the progress of those evils; a course of explanation and exhortation had been pursued in vain, and it became imperiously necessary to check, by a salutary example of punishment, a spirit of insubordination that threatened the most dangerous consequences to the prosperity of the empire. The general orders of the 1st of May last were accordingly passed. The governor in council is concerned to state, that this example, which was confined to the persons who were principally instrumental in promoting sedition, and of whose delinquency the most ample proofs existed, and which was intended to obviate the necessity of more extensive punishments, failed to produce the beneficial effects anticipated from its adoption, and that principles of insubordination and sedition continued to prevail among the company's officers, if possible with aggravated violence; the company's officers of the Hydrabad subsidiary force, whose good conduct in refusing to affix their signatures to the seditious addresses, had received the approbation of the government, intimated to the rest of the army, in an address dated in May last, scarcely less reprehensible than the papers that had incurred the animadversion of the government, their participation in the disaffection which prevailed so extensively in the company's army.

"The officers at Hydrabad followed up this [illegible]t-ening, in an address, dated 15th June, transmitt[illegible] governor in council, to separate themselves fr[illegible] of the government, established over them [illegible] unless a submission should be yielded to [illegible] abrogating the general orders of the 1st [illegible] pany's officers at Masulipatam imprison[illegible] officer, and made preparations to desert th[illegible] their charge, and to join the Hydrabad subsi[illegible] involving, on account of views personal to them[illegible] under their command in the guilt of rebellion, [illegible] to the Native troops a dangerous example of resistance to autho-rity. The governor in council, still anxious to impress on the

minds of the company's officers a sense of the impropriety of their conduct, published to the army the dispatch from the supreme government, dated the 21st of May last, which contained an entire approval of the measures of the government of Fort St. George, and stated the most forcible and conclusive arguments against the system of faction and illegal combination which had been introduced into the coast army. This solemn decision of the supreme authority in India, has also proved to be ineffectual; the officers at Hydrabad, although they knew the sentiments of the supreme government, refused, in a body, in a letter to their commanding officer, dated the 8th of July, obedience to the orders of government, for the march of a battalion from Hydrabad, adding, as a threat, that its services might soon be useful to their cause; and have since forwarded to the government, in a paper, dated the 21st of July, the conditions on which they are willing to return to their duty, and which they require the government to accept, in order to avert the impending awful evils; evils that can result only from their own criminal determination to place themselves in the situation of enemies to their country. The conditions on which those officers presume to state that they will yield obedience to the national authorities, afford further proofs of the nature of their designs, for they demand the public revocation of the general orders of the 1st May; the restoration to their rank and appointments of all officers removed by this government, however obnoxious and criminal the conduct of those offices may have been; the dismission from office of the officers of the general staff, who may be supposed to have advised the government to the trial by a general court martial of the officer commanding Masulipatam, who was arrested by his own disobedient officers: and, finally, an amnesty for the conduct of the company's army. The garrison of Masulipatam have placed themselves in a state of rebellion; the troops of Seringapatam and Hy[illegible]e followed their example, and it has been ascerta[illegible]ilitary authority entrusted to commanding offi[illegible]ped by self-constituted committees; and that [illegible] of combination, for the purpose of sub[illegible] of the government, has been established [illegible] part of the army of this establishment. [illegible]uncil perceives, in the foregoing course [illegible] part of European officers of the com[illegible]has equally resisted measures of forbearance [illegible] determined spirit of revolt that must, unless [illegible]ed, produce the most fatal consequences to the [illegible]titution and authority of the government and the interests [illegible] the nation. No means compatible with the honour and

authority of the government have been omitted to recal the company's officers to a sense of their duty as soldiers, and of their allegiance as British subjects. The forbearance displayed by the government, under circumstances of aggravated indignity, demonstrate the satisfaction with which it would have regarded any disposition on the part of the company's officers to manifest the usual obedience required from all soldiers. No disposition, however, of that nature has appeared ; on the contrary, those officers, by a systematic course of aggression and insubordination, have forced the government to adopt measures of the most decided nature for the support of its authority.

" The governor in council would be guilty of a most criminal desertion of his duty and the cause of his country, if he were capable of compromising the evils of sedition and mutiny by a submission to the menaces of a body of men, placed by the law under his government. Such a course of proceeding would prostrate the authority of the state before a disaffected and seditious faction ; it would effectually incapacitate this and every succeeding government from executing the functions of administration, and would be fatal to the prosperity of the empire in India, by affording an example of successful opposition to authority, and by weakening the power and dignity of the government, which, in this country, are peculiarly essential to its existence. Influenced by these considerations, the governor in council has considered it to be his sacred duty to resist every appearance of concession to the threats of insubordination and faction, and to employ the power and means at the disposal of the government for the restoration of its discipline and the maintenance of its honour and authority.

" In this state of affairs, it is a source of the most gratifying reflection, that zeal, loyalty, and discipline of his Majesty's troops, and of many of the most respectable officers of the company's army, combined with the fidelity generally manifested by the native troops, will enable the gov[illegible] to accomplish the important object of re-establishi[illegible]. The good conduct of his Majesty's troops duri[illegible] that have occurred, their zealous adherence [illegible] rence which they have manifested to the [illegible] virtue, and patriotism, over the personal [illegible] passions which prevailed around them, re[illegible] on their character, and demonstrate tha[illegible] the same ardent love of their country, whic[illegible] their brother soldiers in Europe. His Majesty[illegible] government will possess the gratifying reflectio[illegible] served the approbation and gratitude of their co[illegible]y, an[illegible] having eminently contributed to the preservation of an impo[illegible]tant branch of the empire.

"The governor in council entertains a hope that the company's officers, who have threatened the government of their country with the most serious evils, who have demanded, as the condition of being faithful to their duty, the execution of measures degrading to the character, and fatal to the interests of the State, will pause before they attempt to proceed further in the course of sedition and guilt which they have pursued. It has been the earnest wish and anxious desire of the governor in council to avoid measures of extremity, to re-establish order by the course of the law, and to give up to military trial the authors of the present seditious proceedings. In prosecution of measures so consonant to justice, so necessary for restoration of discipline, and so conformable to the ordinary course of military government, the governor in council is persuaded that he shall have the concurrence of all persons in the civil and military services, who have not banished from their minds every sentiment of national feeling; and he exhorts the officers of the company's service, by submitting to that course of measures, to avert the evils which they are precipitating upon themselves. Such a result, gratifying at any period, would, at the present moment of national difficulty, be peculiarly acceptable to the view and feelings of the governor in council; and, adverting to the zeal and patriotism by which the officers of the company's army have been distinguished, he still encourages a hope, that by manifesting obedience to the government, they will obviate the adoption of measures of extremity, arrest the certain consequences of their past conduct, and promote the restoration of general confidence, order, and discipline.

"By order of the honorable the governor in council,

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR."

"BY GOVERNMENT.—GENERAL ORDERS.

"Fort St. George, August 18.

[illegible]or in council has received intelligence that the [illegible]oog, consisting of the first battalion of the [illegible]nts of Native infantry, seized, in the latter [illegible]c treasure at that station, deserted the post [illegible]and, in obedience to orders which they [illegible]tee who have usurped the public authority [illegible]marched on the 6th instant to join the dis[illegible]t garrison, plundering the villages on their [illegible]

[illegible]sh resident, and the officer commanding in [illegible]sore, prohibited, in the most positive terms, the advance of

the troops from Chittledroog, and demanded from their European officers a compliance with the resolution of the governor in council of the 26th ult. by either declaring that they would obey the orders of government according to the tenor of their commissions, or withdrawing, for the present, from the exercise of authority.

"The officers having refused to comply with his requisition, and having persisted in advancing towards Seringapatam, it became unavoidably necessary to prevent by force their entrance into that garrison.

"In the contest which ensued, a detachment from the British force, under the command of lieutenant-col. Gibbs, aided by a body of Mysore horse, and one battalion of the 3rd regiment of Native infantry, entirely defeated and dispersed the corps from Chittledroog.

"During this affair a sally was made by the garrison of Seringapatam on lieutenant-col. Gibbs's camp, but was instantly driven back by the piquet and the 5th regiment of cavalry, under the command of Capt. Bean, of his Majesty's 25th dragoons, in charge of that regiment.

"Nearly the whole of the rebel force was destroyed, while one casualty alone was sustained by the British troops, lieutenant Jefferies, of his Majesty's 25th regiment of light dragoons, having zealously offered his services to carry a flag of truce, which lieutenant-col. Gibbs, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, was desirous of dispatching to the rebel troops, was slightly wounded in the execution of that duty by a volley fired under the express command of an European officer.

"While the governor in council participates in the feelings of sorrow that must have been experienced by the British forces, in acting against the rebel troops, and deeply laments the unfortunate but imperious necessity which existed for that proceeding, he considers it to be due to the conduct of the British forces to express his high admiration and appla[illegible] [illegible]l, firmness, and patriotism which they displaye[illegible] interesting occasion.

"Their conduct affords a further pr[illegible] influence in their minds of the principles o[illegible] loyalty, over every other consideration, [illegible] them to public approbation. Lieut.-co[illegible] Adam, major Carden, capt. Bean, and [illegible] themselves of the opportunities offered to th[illegible] of serving their country.

"The governor in council is also happy to [illegible] zeal and loyalty displayed by the 5th regiment of N[illegible]ve caval[illegible]

the 1st battalion of the 3rd regiment of Native infantry, and the Mysore troops, who all manifested an eager desire to perform their duty. The Mysore horse, on one occasion, put the column of the Chittledroog troops to flight, and took two guns and both the colours from one of the battalions; a memorable proof of the weakness of men acting in the worst of causes.

"That a body of British officers should deliberately disobey the orders of their government—seize the public treasure under their protection—abandon the post entrusted to their charge—march to join a party of men in open opposition to authority—plunder the dominions of a British ally, and finally bear arms against their country, must excite grief and astonishment; but the conduct of these officers in urging the innocent men under their command, who had the most powerful claims on their humanity and care, into the guilt and danger of rebellion, constitutes an aggravation of their offence that cannot be contemplated without feelings of the deepest indignation and sorrow.

"The governor in council is very far from wishing to aggravate the misconduct of these deluded and unhappy men; but he earnestly hopes, that the example of their crimes and their fate will still impress on the minds of the officers who have joined in their plans a sense of the danger of their situation, and the propriety of endeavouring, by their early obedience and future zeal, to efface the deep stain which has been cast on the honour of the Madras army.

"In announcing to the native troops the distressing event, described in this order, the governor in council must express his concern, that any part of the native army should be so far deluded by misrepresentation, and so lost to a sense of the obligation of fidelity, honour, and religion, as to act against the government which has so long supported them.

"The general order of the 3rd instant, and the conduct that has been observed towards the native troops at the Presidency, the [illegible] Vellore, Trichinopoly, Bellary, Gooty, and Bangal[illegible] [illegible]ince the whole Native army of the anxiety of [illegible] [illegible]omote their welfare, and save them from the [illegible] they were likely to be plunged. The go[illegible] [illegible]laces the greatest confidence in the fidelity [illegible] [illegible]roops, and is convinced that they will not [illegible] [illegible]h reputation which they have so long [illegible] the execution of plans that must end in [illegible] [illegible]in.

[illegible] in council trusts the unhappy fate of the [illegible] [illegible]talions, who allowed themselves to be engaged

in opposition to their government, will have the effect of prevailing on any other part of the Native army from suffering themselves, under any circumstances, to be placed in a situation adverse to their duty and allegiance.

"The governor in council avails himself of this occasion to express, in the most public manner, his high sense of the zeal, moderation, energy, and ability displayed by the government of Mysore, and by the British resident and commanding officer, during the transactions that have recently occurred in that country. The British resident and the commanding officer in Mysore did not permit the adoption of coercive measures until every means of expostulation and forbearance had been exhausted, and until they were compelled to embrace the alternative of employing force, in order to prevent the most fatal evils to the cause of their country.

"The governor in council requests, that the honourable Mr. Cole and lieutenant-colonel Davies will be pleased to accept the expression of his highest approbation and thanks, for the moderation, firmness, and ability, which they manifested on this unprecedented and distressing occasion.

"A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

"GENERAL ORDERS, BY THE HON. THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

"Fort St. George, Aug. 30.

"A report has been received by the governor in council from the officer commanding in Mysore, stating, that the troops which composed the garrison of Seringapatam surrendered at discretion, on the 23d instant, delivered up their arms, and proceeded to the stations in Mysore allotted for their residence.

"It has been ascertained that the Native tr[illegible] ceeded from Chittledroog were entirely ign[illegible] design of their officers, and marched un[illegible] produced by their officers, that his hi[illegible] Mysore had commenced hostility again[illegible] ment, and attacked the Fort of Sering[illegible] ance of the Mysore horse confirmed th[illegible] of those troops, and when they found in[illegible] Seringapatam, which was begun by the [illegible] the British force acted against them, they [illegible]

arms, and endeavoured to save their lives by flight. It appears that a considerable number escaped into the Fort of Seringapatam.

" This explanation is due to the general conduct of the native troops under this government, who, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, manifested a fidelity and attachment to the state that reflects great honour on their character.

" The governor in council was persuaded, that it was only by deceiving the native troops that they could be misled from their duty, and their conduct, in every situation where they had an opportunity of being more acquainted with the true situation of affairs, justifies the high opinion which he entertained of their zeal and fidelity, and entitles them to the approbation and thanks of the government.

" The governor in council greatly ascribes the early termination of the disturbances in Mysore to the vigilance, energy, and talents of the acting resident, the honourable Arthur Cole, and the commanding officer in Mysore, lieut.-colonel Davies, and he judges it proper again to express his high sense of the important services which they have rendered to the interests of their country in India.

" By order of the honourable the governor in council,

(Signed) " A. FALCONAR,
" Chief Secretary to Government.

" By order of major-general Gowdie, commanding the army.

" J. H. PEELE,
" Secretary to Government."

[S.]

" TO THE HON. SIR GEORGE BARLOW, BART, K. B.

" S[illegible]—We should be wanting in the first principles of duty to [illegible] and ourselves, both as subjects and soldiers; a[illegible]e insensible to the just feelings of honour, [illegible]aity, were we longer to remain silent, or [illegible]ng you; indeed, the moment has arrived, [illegible]a bounden and a sacred duty for us to [illegible] one voice, deny those unjust imputations [illegible]cter of the company's officers which [illegible]y disseminated through the channel of [illegible]d to convey to you, Sir, such an explicit [illegible]r principles, that, on a future day, when [illegible]ces of this awful and eventful crisis shall

be submitted to the solemn investigation of our country, we may appeal to a faithful record, and challenge the testimony of this address.

" It would be vain for us to attempt to describe the sensations of honest indignation with which we have perused the documents circulated in the public Gazette, or the sentiments of regret, with which we perceive, that some of our countrymen, and fellow subjects, have received an impression, that the officers of the company's service entertain designs repugnant to their first duties as subjects and servants of the state ; and that, under such impression, they have been induced to express a sentence of unqualified condemnation.—But, that you, Sir, should avow such a belief, and ascribe to the officers of the honourable company's army a deliberate, premeditated design to subvert the government, to claim the surrender of its authority, and throw off their allegiance to their King and country, is what we cannot read without sentiments of indescribable horror and surprize.

" With emotions of equal horror have we read that these sentiments, and a more extensive charge of positive rebellion have been promulgated from the awful bench of justice ; such a charge, and armed with such authority, demands the most solemn and most public vindication.

We have not forgotten, Sir, that we are British subjects, the children of the happiest country, and the most glorious constitution in the world ; nor have we ever entertained a thought at variance with the purest and most sacred principles of loyalty, allegiance, and fidelity.— Our bosoms still glow, Sir, with enthusiastic attachment to our beloved King and country, in whose service and for whose interests, we are ready to shed every drop of our blood ; not less, is our fidelity to the East India Company, nor our respect and obedience to their governments in India. We have never claimed the surrender of the authority of the government, or aimed at trampling do[illegible] first principles of duty and obedience, which [illegible] be solemn and primary obligations. We app[illegible] and character. Is it probable that the offic[illegible] army, many of whom have passed the [illegible] lives in the service, should entertain t[illegible] verting that power they have shed the[illegible] secure.

" No, Sir, such a thought never occu[illegible] officers have sought no immunities, we h[illegible] *only those rights which, as Britons, we derive* [illegible]

the protection of the laws of our country, and the impartial administration of British justice! These are the privileges we have hitherto enjoyed, *these are the claims we have made upon you, and which the government has denied to us*; and it is this denial of those sacred unalienable rights, secured to us by our constitution, that has agitated the minds of the company's officers, and driven them to despair.—You, Sir, have justly stated, that there is a principle of national feeling and attachment inherent in Britons, which cannot be eradicated. We feel the truth of this observation, and it is that ardent attachment to the laws and liberties of our native country, which warms our hearts, and which has raised the voice of every one amongst us, to call upon you to secure to us their uninterrupted enjoyment and protection.

" Had we not been bereft of those our dearest privileges, had not those sacred rights, for which our ancestors bled, been torn from us, not a murmur of discontent would have been heard in the company's army; not an expression discordant with the strictest rules of respect and obedience. If you will revert to the period, Sir, when you assumed charge of the government of this presidency, your candour will acknowledge, that you found the army in a state of perfect obedience and tranquillity, and in such a state it continued till the moment, when the constitutional rules of our order were infringed, the ordinary and established tribunals subverted, and summary severe punishments inflicted, without trial or inves-gation.

" Far be it from us, to remark on the conduct of government; but it is not inconsistent with just and proper respect, in our present extraordinary situation, to shew the effects which were produced, and which gradually led to that insupportable irritation that has, at length, unhappily terminated in extremes, which we deplore equally with every member of the government [illegible]

[illegible] t to trespass on your attention, but, at this [illegible] hen a general unqualified calumny is gone [illegible] loyalty, our allegiance, and our national [illegible] in question, and becomes the theme [illegible] hen the newspapers of the day proclaims [illegible] ur degradations, it would not become [illegible]

[illegible] to say, that misrepresentations have been [illegible] ployed, and that prejudices have been adopted [illegible] our principles and conduct.

" It will be unnecessary to enter into a detail of our serious wrongs at present; but we cannot pass over the deepest wound inflicted on the army;—*the order of the 1st of May;* the effects of which may be lamented to the last hour that the British influence exists in India. In this order many of the most respected and most valuable officers were disgraced, punished, and suspended from the service, not only without trial or investigation, without hearing or defence, but without knowing their accusers, or even their crime. In vain did these officers seek and implore a trial: This indulgence was not only denied to them; but the vindication they offered was either rejected, neglected, or suppressed. It was known to the army that many of these officers were absolutely innocent of the charges for which they had been punished, and had it in their power to substantiate their exculpation upon the clearest and most unequivocal testimony.—Yet, not only redress, but even hearing was denied to all their entreaties, and the serious imputations against them, the sentence of their punishment, and a general impeachment against the coast army, was circulated to the world in the public journals of the day. Can it, then, be wondered, that general discontent should follow, that alarm should be excited, and that every individual should consider himself in danger of falling a victim to secret calumny or suspicion? It appeared to the army, that a deliberate system existed to subvert the *right of trial*, and it was feared that it would ultimately tend to degrade an honorable profession into an abject and disreputable servitude

" How well founded those apprehensions were, we will not enquire. As subjects of Great Britain we can never forget the rights to which we are born, and which we do not forfeit, because we are soldiers.—But we cannot more forcibly describe our feelings, than by referring to the just and emphatic declaration of our most gracious sovereign, on a recent occasion, when he says, ' And I must remind you, that it i[illegible]tent
' with the principles of British justice, to pro[illegible]at
' without previous investigation.' And if w[illegible]
illustration of the grand fundamental maxim[illegible]
we shall find them elegantly stated, in th[illegible]
an exalted and learned character,—who [illegible]
' them for what every British subje[illegible]
' which no British man could refu[illegible]
' them to suspend proceedings which m[illegible]
' of *condemning without a trial;* and, before j[illegible]
' such evidence as was required for the ends [illegible]

'the laws of the land. It was not to prevent impeachment, 'but to claim the privilege of every British subject, from the 'highest to the lowest, and the lowest to the highest, to have 'his trial before condemnation, in a cause which affected his 'character, integrity, and honor.'

"It has been asserted, that it is our duty to await patiently the *result of a reference to Europe;* and impatience of this appeal is imputed to us, and reprobated in strong and angry terms. We acknowledge it to be our duty, but have we ever been told, or had the satisfaction of knowing, that our petitions, and our grievances, have been appealed to the authorities at home; have not our petitions, our humble memorials of our complaints been received with reproaches, and rejected with derision and disdain? When we ventured to express our complaints to our superiors, were we not branded with mutiny and sedition? Even the individuals, who have been punished, who vainly supplicated trial, have they received even the poor consolation of knowing, their defence and vindication had been, or should be submitted to those ulterior authorities who were to pass a final judgment upon their case, and whose decision was to confirm their condemnation, or restore them to their rank and situation? These, Sir, are amongst those most serious injuries, which the officers of the company's service loudly complain of, and which, had you condescended to redress, or even to investigate, would have secured to you the gratitude and attachment of the coast army, and averted those calamities which have ensued. May we not, Sir, also notice, without invidious comparisons, the endeavours to promote discord, jealousy, and a separation of interests between the officers of his majesty's service and those of the company's army,—our brothers in arms and fellow subjects?

"They have not and cannot suffer our wrongs; the constitution of their service affords them that protection which we d[illegible]njoy, and they have not had grievances to complain o[illegible] encomiums have been lavished on them, while [illegible] harsh reproaches have been bestowed on the [illegible]s,' and aspersions upon our loyalty, honor, [illegible]ated to the world.

[illegible]rited this, Sir, from your hands, nor from [illegible]e have quitted our native country, [illegible]nds; and we have sacrificed the dearest [illegible]devote our lives, and our service, for the [illegible]East India company, and the good of our

country, in a distant and unwholesome climate, where too many of us fall victims to our zeal.

" But we will now not further complain, nor dwell on that last act which, attended with circumstances of peculiar humiliation, has placed us in an extraordinary predicament, and subjected us to be treated with such public indignity and contempt. We look to the justice of our country for redress, and to rescue a numerous body of loyal, faithful, meritorious subjects from the unmerited obloquy cast upon us, in consequence of the publication circulated in the newspapers.

" Pondicherry, August, 1809."

[T.]

" GENERAL ORDERS, BY THE HON. THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL OF MADRAS.

" All civil and military officers, exercising the authority under the government of Fort St. George, having been directed to consider all corps moving without orders as in a state of rebellion to the government, and to offer every practicable obstruction to their progress, the honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct, that timely notice shall be given by officers commanding divisions to the different collectors and magistrates, through whose districts any troops under their orders may have to march, in order that such collectors and magistrates may be prepared to afford the supplies and assistance to those corps which they would, without such notice, consider themselves bound to withhold.

" The governor in council is further pleased to direct, that the notice to the civil officers shall distinctly specify the strength and description of the corps or party moving, and the name of the officer in charge of the same, who must produce a written order, with a translation on the back of it, in the common language of the district, signed by th[illegible] commanding the division, wihout which, the [illegible] of the civil officers will withhold all supplies [illegible] impediment to the march of the corps.

" By order of the honourable the gov[illegible]

(Signed) " [illegible]

" C[illegible]

" Madras, 7th September."

"GENERAL ORDERS, BY THE HON. THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL,

"August 26, 1809.

"Circumstances having occurred, which induced colonel Close to relinquish the command of the Hyderabad subsidiary force on his arrival there, on the 3d instant, when it was resumed by lieut.-col. Montressor, the honourable the governor in council is pleased to re-appoint colonel Close to the command of that force, and also to the command of the field force assembled in the ceded districts.

"By order of the honorable the governor in council,

(Signed) "A. FALCONAR,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"The declaration required from the European commissioned officers of the honourable company's service, by the order of the 26th July last, having been tendered to the medical officers at several stations of the army, and refused by some of them, in consequence of which they have been removed from the exercise of their functions. The governor in council is pleased to publish, that it never was intended that the medical officers should be called upon to sign the declaration in question, which is in no wise applicable to them, and to direct, that all those who may have been removed from their duties, do immediately return to their stations, and resume the duties of them.—*Madras Gazette, August* 19."

1 *Jan.* 1812.

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